DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 194 421 SO 012 943

TITLE	Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of White Ethnic Women (October 10-13, 1978).
INSTITUTION	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Sep 80
NOTE	234p.: Appendix B may not reproduce clearly in paper copy or microfiche due to small print of original document.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Affirmative Action: *Educational Opportunities: *Employed Women: Employment: *Ethnic Groups: *Females: Feminism: *Sex Discrimination: *Whites

ABSTRACT

These conference papers address the issues of educational and occupational equality for women and identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in education and work. The conferences, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (NIE), were held between 1975 and 1978 to solicit the views of black, Hispanic-American, Asian-Pacific-American, American Indian, and white ethnic women. Other ethnic groups who participated include Italian, Finnish, German, Slavic, Jewish, and Greek-Americans. Included in the paper are policy, research, social, and humanitarian concerns, much of whose implementation fall beyond the mission, purview, and resources of NIE and the Department of Education. Therefore, NIE is now making them available to a wider audience. Recommendations made by the participants summarize the spirit of the conference. Federal agencies should communicate with each other with regard to the concerns of ethnic women. Their policies and practices should be reviewed in congressional/committee/agency hearings for their effect on the needs and development of ethnic women. Ethnic organizations should be examined, their history surveyed, and the status of women in those organizations analyzed. Research is needed on mixed ethnic settings where intergroup tensions exist so one ethnic group will not victimize another. Women who are sensitive to ethnic needs should be placed in leadership positions in federal agencies and programs. The Department of Housing and Urban Development should conduct research on women's housing needs. NIE should convene a conference with representatives from all five minority women's conferences to stress the commonalities. (Author/RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED194421

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF WHITE ETHNIC WOMEN

October 10-13, 1978

SP 012 943

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Shirley M. Hufstedler, Secretary
Steven A. Minter, Under Secretary

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT
F. James Rutherford, Assistant Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
Michael Timpane, Director
Lois-ellin Datta, Associate Director for Teaching and Learning
Susan Chipman, Assistant Director for Learning and Development

September 1980

OCT 28 1980

Single copies of this volume
can be obtained free while
supplies last by sending a request with
a mailing label to:

Women's Research/Social Processes Team
Mail Stop No. 7
Program on Learning & Development
National Inst. of Education
1200 19th Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20208

FOREWORD

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by Congress in 1972 as the primary Federal agency for educational research and development. It is now part of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. NIE's policy is established by the National Council on Educational Research, whose 15 members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Institute's mission is twofold: to promote educational equity and to improve the quality of educational practice. To this end, NIE supports research and dissemination activities that will help individuals--regardless of race, sex, age, economic status, ethnic origin, or handicapping condition--realize their full potential through education.

To address the issues of educational and occupational equality for women and to identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in education and work, NIE held a series of conferences between 1975 and 1978 to solicit the views of Black, Hispanic-American, Asian-Pacific-American, American Indian, and white ethnic women. This volume contains the papers presented at the conference on the concerns of white ethnic women as well as individual and group recommendations from the participants. Included are policy, research, social, and humanitarian concerns, much of whose implementation fall beyond the mission, purview, and resources of NIE and the Department of Education. Therefore, NIE is now making them available to a wider audience.

These conferences were conceived, planned, and coordinated by the former Women's Research Program at NIE. In 1978, the administrative structure at NIE was reorganized into three broad program areas: Teaching and Learning (T & L); Educational Policy and Organization (EPO); and Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP). The program activities previously undertaken by the Women's Research Program were expanded to involve three groups: the Social Processes/Women's Research Team in the Learning and Development unit of T & L; the Women's Studies Team in EPO; and the Minorities and Women's Program in DIP. Several other teams focus their attention on special topics such as women and mathematics, career development in women, and teenage pregnancy.

The minority women's conference marked the initial step in opening a dialog among researchers, practitioners, activists, policymakers, and a Federal educational agency. The actual publication of the conference reports has experienced various delays, but NIE has already acted on many conference recommendations. For instance, recent grants competitions have emphasized participation by minorities and women as grant recipients, reviewers, panelists, and as the target population in current research efforts. A sample of recent NIE-sponsored research focusing on minority women's issues is given in appendix B.

The research agenda for minorities and women at NIE has grown considerably since the first conference 4 years ago. The Social Processes/Women's Research Team is developing a research area plan that focuses on how the immediate social environment affects the learning, development, and lifetime opportunities of the individual. The Minorities and Women's Program is sponsoring programs to strengthen minority and women policymakers and researchers. In addition, many organizations, such as the National Commission on Working Women, emerged as a direct result of the conferences.

4

Credit for making the conferences a reality goes to Jean Lipman-Blumen, head of the former Women's Research Program, and the members of her team--Christina Hristakos, Carol Crump, and Joan Aliberti. Credit for making the conferences a success goes to the patient and devoted participants, the chairpersons, and the innumerable behind-the-scenes contributors who supplied invaluable contacts, advice, encouragement, and motivation. Rosalind Wu supervised the final editorial process. This publication is a tribute to the labors and generosity of all those people.

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword iii

I. Introduction 1

II. Overview 7

III. Chairpersons' Report— Maria A. Anastasi 13

IV. Chairpersons' Report— Barbara Wertheimer 23

V. The Papers 39

- Ethnic Women and the Media
  Christine Noschese 41
- Organizing Neighborhood Women for Political and Social Action
  I. Elaine Lowry 55
- Developing a Neighborhood-Based Health Facility
  Elaine Wilson 63
- The Museo Italo Americano: My Involvement with the Italian American Community in San Francisco
  Giuliana Nardelli-Haight and Rose Scherini 68
- The Status of East European Women in the Family: Tradition and Change
  Mary Ann Krickus 76
- The Role of Learning in the Lives of Finnish and Other Ethnic Women and a Proposal for Self-Education
  Sirkka Tuomi Lee 101
- Changing Needs of Ethnic Women in Higher Education
  Laura Polla Scanlon 115
- The Economic Struggles of Female Factory Workers: A Comparison of French, Polish, and Portuguese Immigrants
  Louise Lamphere et al 129
- Irish, Italian, and Jewish Women at the Grassroots Level: A Historical and Sociological Perspective
  Kathleen McCourt 153
- Family Roles and Identities of Scandinavian and German Women
  Carol Woehrer 180
- Achieving the Dreams Beyond Tradition: Counseling White Ethnic American Girls
  Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard 210

Appendixes 233

A. Participants 235

B. Sample of NIE-Funded Projects 237

I. Introduction

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Joan M. Aliberti*

In the 1960's ethnicity became synonymous with the plight of the blue collar worker. Often thought of as the racist and bigoted uneducated man, his image in books and the media was portrayed as one who was intent on protecting his territory--his home, his work, and his community--from alien invasions. On the other hand, the woman was seen as the mother supporting her husband (emotionally), protecting her children, and defending her hearth. To the white collar liberal, the "ethnics" were the uninvolved and the uncultured, truly lacking in any vision of America. Therefore, for one to identify with one's ethnic group during this period was considered un-American. The "elites" typically ignored the people who clearly identified with ethnic groups. But this has changed.

While the 1960's and the early 1970's brought some revolutionary change in the area of civil rights and women's issues, little positive attention was focused on the concept of cultural diversity in policymaking decisions. Nevertheless, among scholars and academics ethnicity became somewhat of an intellectual pursuit. Herbert Gans', The Urban Villagers, and Glazer and Moynihan's, Beyond the Melting Pot began to investigate the ethnic working class culture.

Yet, in this research, the role of women was still viewed in a narrow provincial manner. Little attention was focused on the changes of women in the home, in the neighborhoods, and in the workplace. If women were mentioned at all it was in the most stereotypic role, as the helpmate, standing behind their husbands and children.

During the latter part of the 1970's the role of the white ethnic women began to change, although as social, economic, and educational advances influenced her outlook, our society and our institutions did little to accommodate her changing needs. Her working roots were from a working-class background, but her new mobility made her neither working class nor bourgeoise. Consequently, her culture has caused her to straddle two distinct worlds.

If the issue for ethnic women is not entirely one of economics, one might ask: What is the role of the Federal Government? What is the need for federally sponsored research? Is there a need for any policy changes? Is the white ethnic woman a victim of discrimination in educational and occupational areas? Although not all ethnic women come from any particular economic group, often, their traditional culture has prevented them from achieving full potential. The extent to which this occurs is dependent on many variables. Nevertheless, for the white ethnic woman, the family, the community, and the schools often create an environment in which women are victims of rigidly proscribed roles. From birth she learns traditions that are passed on from generation to generation, and that the socialization process often affects the way women perceive themselves. In many cases, these perceptions do, in fact, affect aspirations and educational and career choices. The problem is most severe for first- and second-generation women.

---

*Joan Aliberti was an NIE Associate and the Project Officer for coordinating the conference and preparing this volume for publication. She is now head of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in the State of Massachusetts, Room 1105, 100 Cambridge Street, Boston, MA 02202.

Generally, the women's movement has been seen as a middle-class struggle. Nevertheless, there is growing evidence that fallout from this movement has touched women in ethnic neighborhoods. The fight for equal pay for equal work, the upgrading of women's work, the increasing of educational and occupational opportunities for all women did, to some degree, affect women who were not traditionally the benefactors from the largest of the great middle class. As a result, the educational and economic experiences long denied have created an upward mobility not previously available to her immigrant mothers and grandmothers.

As the movement continued ethnic women were beginning to fight for their rights in their own neighborhoods, yet social scientists failed to acknowledge this change. With the exception of Nancy Seifer's Absent from the Majority and Nobody Speaks for Us and Kathleen McCourt's Working Class Women, little has been written about these women.

Traditionally, social science literature has dealt with women and ethnic issues on fairly separate levels. As a result this research has not addressed the differing needs of white ethnic women. Because of their color they are not sharply distinguished from the mainstream of our society, yet their traditional values and customs prevent them from being totally accepted. They remain isolated and misunderstood, sharing many of the problems confronting their minority sisters.

Similarly, in terms of data collection, ethnicity is typically categorized along racial rather than cultural lines; people are usually classified either with a racial minority or a white majority. Cultural diversity is ignored in legislative development and the implementation of Government programs. Failure to acknowledge these diverse cultural influences is the failure to meet these women's changing needs.

For some of these reasons, the former Women's Research Program at NIE included the study of white ethnic women on its research agenda on minority women. It was hoped that attempts to understand differences can lead us to recognize similarities.

In designing this conference, extensive efforts were made to reach community organizers, policymakers, and academicians. Universities, local and State agencies, community groups, and ethnic associations were contacted for input into the planning process. In all, over 300 responses were received. After numerous lengthy discussions and referrals, the issues were defined, the paper topics determined, and the participants selected.

All the participants are leaders in the struggle to identify and rectify the obstacles confronting white ethnic women in many areas: historical literatures, hard research, career counseling, jobs, families, and community organization and activism. The women represented a diversity of backgrounds, but they had a strong common bond in their dedication to breaking down the barriers that have blocked the way as white ethnic women strive to rise above stereotypes, to open up their life options, to heighten their aspirations and explanations, and to fight the discrimination they often face by virtue of their being ethnic, often working-class women.

Several ethnic groups were represented: Italian born, Italian-American, Finnish, German, Slav, Jewish, and Greek. The majority of the participants were from large urban ethnic areas, and they offered a slightly larger representation from particular ethnic groups known for their social-action orientation. A careful attempt was made to ensure that at least major ethnic groups were represented, although the cultural diversity of this country makes it impossible to represent all ethnic groups.

We are indebted to the many individuals who made this project a reality. Dr. Jean Lipman-Blumen not only initiated this project but also provided support and encouragement at the most critical stages. From congressional staffs to Federal agency officials, from city halls to State houses to local community centers, many dedicated individuals were an integral part of the planning and implementation process.

II. Overview

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW

> The recommendations made in this report are not necessarily restricted to white ethnic women; they speak to the experiences of discrimination faced by minority and white ethnic women alike. To the extent that we proceed separately, we are in danger of being divided against each other, thus defeating all our endeavors. Our problems will be solved only if concerted action is taken on the part of minority and ethnic women jointly.
>
> (statement by conference participants)

Thirty-six women, including five observers, of European descent met in Boston, Massachusetts, October 10-13, 1978, under the auspices of the National Institute of Education (NIE). The women were charged with two tasks: (1) to identify and discuss key problems faced by white ethnic women in the areas of education, career opportunities, and jobs; and (2) to formulate a set of research, policy, and funding recommendations addressing these problems. They were encouraged to consider all issues of occupational and educational needs, including action that fall outside the authority of NIE, but which other agencies and institutions could undertake.

During the opening plenary session, 11 papers and 2 films were presented as background for discussion. The major issues addressed at this session were:

o Defining ethnicity. The category "white ethnic" encompasses many diverse cultures, traditions, and economic situations, and the participants agreed that what is crucial to an understanding of white ethnicity is not a definition of ethnicity per se, since that definition can vary from culture to culture and from person to person, but rather a recognition of this diversity coupled with sensitivity to the many common problems faced by white ethnic women, whatever their cultural heritage.

o Breaking down stereotypes and fostering pride in heritage. Ethnics want to have their ethnicity acknowledged, but they do not want to be negatively classified because of it. White ethnic women, like women of all minorities, must first break out of the categories that ethnic stereotypes have locked them into. They are too often assumed to be undereducated, servile wives of undereducated, working-class men; worse yet, they are assumed to be content in this role and without desire to pursue the activities open to men--advanced degrees, professional careers, economic independence.

o Reevaluating the historical literature that reinforces these stereotypes and building a data base that accurately describes the contributions of white ethnic women, starting from the time of immigration and continuing through to the present day. White ethnic women have been instrumental in shaping American social, labor, economic, and reform history, but these achievements are routinely overlooked by historians.

- Opening up career options for white ethnic girls. Career counselors are often insensitive to problems that white ethnic girls may face as they contemplate their choices after high school. Counselors tend to pigeonhole these girls on the basis of their cultural background; they may assume, for example, that because a girl is from a culture that has traditionally ostracized women who prefer a career to full-time motherhood, then the girl will be unwilling to consider nontraditional options. As a result, white ethnic girls are not encouraged to look beyond culturally or socially established limits and examine all possibilities.

- Developing organization/leadership skills. Many white ethnic women live in working-class neighborhoods where the need for community centers offering health care and other social services is acute. In this particular area, women are in a double bind: as mothers, they are especially affected by the consequences of inadequate health care services (they see that the children have immunization shots, they seek treatment when the children are ill), but because being a mother also usually entails full-time devotion to the home and family, these women are the least equipped to effectively organize and wield power in order to obtain quality health care facilities. There is also a critical need in many ethnic neighborhoods for services to the elderly, but again the organizing skills are lacking.

- Meeting the educational and occupational needs of working-class mothers. These women in particular find it difficult to balance family responsibilities with holding a job or attending school, and both employers and educational institutions should implement policies incorporating such features as flexible hours and childcare to enable women to pursue activities outside the home. Many times a second income is critical, but existing employment practices make it difficult, if not impossible, for mothers to work.

On the second day of the conference, the participants took up these issues in two workshops, academic and practitioner, and developed a set of recommendations. These recommendations were further discussed at a second plenary session and are presented in the chairpersons' reports in chapters III and IV of this volume.

The recommendations that follow summarize the discussion of the final session and the spirit of the conference.

- Federal agencies should communicate with each other with regard to the concerns of ethnic women. Their policies and practices should be reviewed in congressional/committee/agency hearings for their effect on the needs and development of ethnic women.

There should be a mandatory review of budget allocations before programs are implemented to ensure program sensitivity to white ethnic women's issues. Federal guidelines on financial aid must include white ethnics in their program benefits.

- Ethnic organizations should be examined: establish a directory of ethnic organizations, survey their history, and analyze the status of women in those organizations. More specifically, the role of unions and ethnic agencies in effecting change and in building coalitions in the lives of ethnic women should be studied.
- Research is needed on mixed ethnic settings where intergroup tensions exist so one ethnic group will not victimize another. A united front is necessary.
- Women who are sensitive to ethnic needs should be placed in leadership positions in Federal agencies and programs. The conference called on women currently in leadership positions, such as congresswomen and the director of NIE to promote the policy and research recommendations made at this conference.
- The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) should conduct research on women's housing needs, e.g.: What kinds of residences do different ethnic women prefer, and how do they conduct their lives in those residences?
- NIE should convene a conference with representatives from all five minority women's conferences to stress the commonalities. The women will meet to unify and build networks and to develop a compact research agenda using the combined resources of all five groups.

Finally, the group commended NIE for its recognition of the needs of white ethnic women and emphasized the need for NIE to continue to include this unique population in its future considerations.

Underlying the conference recommendations is the acknowledgment that they do not address all the needs of all ethnic women, but they are an attempt to address realistically the common obstacles faced by these women in American society. Another goal is to suggest research, policy, and funding programs that should be implemented by NIE, other Federal agencies, and private institutions as an initial step toward granting white ethnic women the recognition and equality of treatment that is morally and legally their due.

III. Chairpersons' Report - Practitioners

CHAIRPERSONS' REPORT: PRACTITIONERS

Maria A. Anastasi and Bosanka Evosevic

INTRODUCTION

A warm, lively spirit and energy sparked the atmosphere of the practitioner sessions, which were comprised of women who are directly involved with services that touch the attitudes, values, and needs of white ethnic women. They brought information and experience to the discussions and set out to articulate and document research recommendations and policy statements needed to address the educational and occupational needs of white ethnic women.

These women formed a diverse group with diverse opinions; their experience varied, they worked in different settings, and their ethnic backgrounds were different. However, they shared one concern: to develop a set of recommendations for presentation to NIE and other appropriate audiences. This task was enhanced by the women's enthusiasm and sincere efforts.

It is important to note that their contributions were made on a theoretical as well as an intensely personal and experiential level. Their efforts will further the work of practitioners and address the spectrum of concerns of white ethnic women.

The group discussed economic exigencies and the effects of class structure on white ethnic women. They refrained from linking ethnicity solely with class struggle. However, in order for their recommendations and policy statements to have perspective, the group's intent had to be clarified. This discussion on the relationship of class and ethnicity led to the adoption of the following preamble:

> The practitioner group prioritized all recommendations for urban-based ethnic women, but not to the exclusion of their applicability to other classes of ethnics, wherever their communities.

After considering the papers written by members of the group, the women identified the following as areas of major concern:

- Education
- Curriculum development
- Networks
- Community organizing and leadership development
- Health/mental health
- Media, arts, and humanities

EDUCATION

Communication tools; academic offerings; programs on ethnic consciousness raising; information gathering and sharing; counseling; and a strong recommendation to build a body of knowledge on the needs of white ethnic women were some of the issues addressed in the papers presented by Krickus, Lee, Lowry, and Scanlon. Each author concentrated on her topic, but together they stated a need for a more creative approach to addressing the concerns of white ethnic women.

Adult ethnic women who live in urban neighborhoods have educational and occupational needs that are overlooked by traditional institutions. Because of their family responsibilities and concerns, their role identity as ethnic women, and their extensive and sometimes intensive involvement in community issues, women often find that the programs offered by existing educational institutions do not relate to them.

Traditionally, women in ethnic neighborhoods are the strength of community organizations. Such neighborhoods often lack cultural and educational opportunities. Community-involved ethnic women seek to improve their knowledge and skills and to grow personally so that they can participate fully in the community and contribute to neighborhood stabilization and development. The recommendations on education address these needs, but their applicability will vary within regions and among groups.

Action and Research

It is recommended that:

- Neighborhood-based education programs modeled after the National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW) college program should be funded for replication in other ethnic areas. The major components of such a design are:
    - That it be a liberal arts degree program, cosponsored by a community group and an existing higher educational institution; that it be focused on neighborhood issues, which should provide the basis for academic course structure; and that it be an experientially based curriculum
    - That it contain a counseling program with peer counseling and support systems
    - That a strong ethnic and women studies theme be a part of the course design
    - That faculty and course work sensitive to ethnic issues be adopted
    - That students participate in curriculum development and faculty selection

  - That the course program include skills development and refinement

- A pilot project in two or three ethnic neighborhoods should be funded that will educate ethnics about themselves and about other ethnics. This should be designed as a 10- to 12-week program. Such programs would be open to educators, community leaders, and all those interested in fostering self-identity and consciousness raising among white ethnic women.

- Neighborhood organizations should be funded to develop local resource centers that:

  - Draw on indigenous material (oral histories, autobiographies, surveys, questionnaires, etc.)

  - Feed this data into larger informational systems, such as the Educational Research Information Center (ERIC)

  - Utilize the resources of larger informational systems as needed in the community

Policy

It is recommended that:

- Women's studies programs in 4-year and community colleges should incorporate courses and issues of concern to ethnic women. When possible, these courses should be connected to women's centers where women of all backgrounds can come together.

- Ethnic studies programs should incorporate ethnic women's concerns.

- Leadership training and community organizing skills should be incorporated in this model of a neighborhood-based educational facility.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

In discussing nontraditional educational models for white ethnic women, the group addressed the type of curriculum that must be designed to fit the personal, social, economic, and cultural needs of white ethnic women. They reviewed educational experience as a support to upward occupational mobility, as well as to personal growth and development of the individual as an ethnic woman. The group expanded this theme to include the need to educate ethnics, with equal emphasis on the need to educate others about ethnics. Creating curriculum materials that fulfill both these tasks is mandatory.

The following recommendations evolved from curriculum development issues:

- NIE should fund a survey and/or use other research modes on the available curriculum materials, at all educational levels, that:
    - Define the changing roles, aspirations, and needs of white ethnic women vis-a-vis education and occupation
    - Review the impact of these changes on white ethnic women, their families, and society
    - Document white ethnic women's histories
    - Record the role of white ethnic women in American radical movements in this century
    - Study family systems of various ethnic subcultures
- NIE should publish the research findings on these topics for dissemination to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, State Title IX coordinators, public elementary and high school systems, community colleges, centers of higher education, and other appropriate audiences.
- Institutes should be funded. The recommended institutes are those that:
    - Promote teacher awareness of the ethnic diversity in the five areas mentioned above
    - Promote additional curriculum materials found lacking in the NIE survey
    - Promote dissemination of a body of knowledge to the audiences previously mentioned

NETWORKS

Information gathering and sharing is necessary to facilitate the growth and development of white ethnic women. Networks will serve as the foundation of future planning and programing and as the basis for establishing a body of knowledge.

The practitioners who have successfully developed programs in their communities strongly supported transferring these concepts to other communities through an information network. Such networks would function at local as well as national and international levels. The group agreed on the need for an established, functioning network. They recommended the following:

- A survey of all existing information and informational systems on ethnic and neighborhood women should be funded. The search would cross-reference these descriptors:
    - Community organizations

- Ethnic organizations
- Ethnic communities
- Women's issues
- Women's centers
- Neighborhood women/groups/organizations
- Educational institutions
- Ethnic studies programs

- The results of these findings should be published and disseminated to neighborhood groups, libraries, schools, Title IX State coordinators, Federal agencies, and other appropriate audiences.

- NIE should be funded to channel ethnic studies information into existing clearinghouse systems such as the Women's Equity Act Clearinghouse and ERIC. In the case of the latter, NIE must ensure the integration of descriptors that would allow retrieval of information regarding ethnic women/studies/programs/centers, etc.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

This topic produced a dynamic response from the participants. The presenters emphasized the need to maximize what already exists and has proven successful in community-organizing efforts. They reiterated that ethnic women are untapped community leadership resources because their potential has not been nurtured. The practitioners refined their concerns into the recommendations listed below. The basic concept was to use existing leadership potential, develop leadership where needed, and further community development by seeking and funding training for grassroots ethnic women.

The group recommended the following:

- NIE should fund a technical assistance program to train neighborhood women in the areas of program and organization development, e.g., administration and management. The women funded under this program would then serve as resources to other community groups needing assistance in these areas.

- NIE should support the work of organizing on the neighborhood level.

- Particular support and funding by NIE and other agencies for the development and education of community women in this area of activity should be addressed.

HEALTH

Discussion of this topic was generated by Wilson's paper, which pointed out the need for high-quality health care. The practitioners concurred with the presenter that such a service should be neighborhood based and controlled in order that it be accessible and responsive to the community it serves. The following recommendations resulted:

- Funding should be provided for training white ethnic women to become health care practitioners at all levels of health-related occupations. This training and preparation would ensure:
    - That health care will be sensitive to culturally and linguistically diverse populations
    - That job opportunities will expand for white ethnic women
- Ethnic women should be in policymaking positions, especially in health care fields. They should also be participants at all levels where decisions affect them, especially on the neighborhood level.
- A free national health insurance plan should be developed and implemented. If a deductible is incorporated into such a plan, there should be a provision for co-insurance rather than a deductible lump sum. National health insurance must also include comprehensive benefits in order for neighborhood women, for whom health costs become a budgetary problem, to benefit from the plan.
- The continuation of neighborhood-based, neighborhood-controlled health facilities must be ensured.

MENTAL HEALTH

A paper addressing this topic was not a specific part of the practitioners' agenda. However, throughout their sessions dealing with educational issues, community organizing, and leadership development, the subject of mental health emerged. Due to the importance of this issue and its recurrence in the discussions, the practitioners developed an extensive set of research and policy recommendations.

Research

- Funds for long-range studies exploring the relationship between a woman's ethnicity and her vocational and educational aspirations should be available.
- A study of the effectiveness of health care when offered by persons of the same sex, ethnic group, or background as the population served should be funded.

- Research should be funded to study the attitudes of professionals within the mental health field toward white ethnic women.
- Research should be funded to study how white ethnic women cope with life cycle events, with focus on these questions:
  - Where are these traditions helpful in terms of coping strategies? What customs, views, values, etc., have transferability?
  - How can this information be incorporated into mental health practice and be applied to successful intervention or treatment?
- The role of counselors in helping white ethnic women to claim and direct their own talents, lifestyles, and career options must be studied.
- Research should be funded to study role models for ethnic women, using an intergenerational or cross-generational model and addressing the following questions:
  - Do role models exist?
  - Where were they?
  - Who are they?
  - What influence do they have?
  - How have they served as role models?

Policy

- The placement of white ethnic women in graduate and professional schools, especially in the mental health field, should be promoted.
- Ethnic women should be encouraged through recruitment and scholarships to pursue these careers.
- The curriculum in health and health-related studies should be expanded to include sensitivity to the special mental health needs of white ethnic women.
- The role of counselors must be developed and emphasized so that ethnic women will be encouraged to choose the options that are most meaningful for their personal growth.

MEDIA, ARTS, AND HUMANITIES

The recommendations on media, arts, and humanities were generated from discussion of the papers presented by Nardelli-Haight and Noschese, which raised the same issues of education, information retrieval, networking, and organizing skills, but as they critically relate to the arts. All the group members felt intimately involved, since their own lives have been touched by negative images, stereotypes, and roles created by the media, arts, and humanities. In an effort to promote positive images, stereotypes, and roles, the group developed the following recommendations:

- Research should be funded to study the portrayal of ethnic women in literature and visual media. This study should concentrate on present-day characterizations and how this affects the self-image of ethnic women.

- Federal and State agencies should allot funds for films and other media created by ethnic women to promote positive images of ethnic women.

- Research should be funded to study the proportion of air time in public service coverage that the commercial radio and television stations spend on ethnic women's issues as part of meeting FCC credentialing criteria. Such a study could also extend to public TV and radio.

- Comparative studies of the feminist movement within the white ethnic female population in the United States and the country of origin, addressing the cultural and historical implications, should be funded.

- The preservation and fostering of ethnic folk art and crafts should be funded, especially those art forms that are traditionally the product of women's creativity.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, the final recommendation is that all of these research and policy recommendations be acted upon. The practitioners worked hard in assessing the papers, flavoring the discussion with their own expertise, contributing information, and effectively reconciling divergent opinions in order to develop this comprehensive research and policy agenda.

White ethnic women are an emerging constituency, and all the authors agreed that data on this constituency are limited. The consensus opinion was that a body of knowledge on white ethnic women must be developed in order for the practitioners to best utilize their skills. Governmental agencies, educational institutions, and individual researchers must make developing and expanding this body of knowledge a priority and join forces to make it a reality.

A strong foundation for this body of knowledge was established at the conference in Boston, which provided the first opportunity for women to collectively develop an agenda for research and policy on the educational and occupational needs of white ethnic women in America. The practitioners were grateful to NIE for this long-awaited opportunity. The combined efforts of all concerned should promote the realization of the recommended actions, which will tangibly affect the lives of white ethnic women in America.

IV. Chairpersons' Report - Academics

CHAIRPERSONS' REPORT: ACADEMICS

Barbara Wertheimer and Nancy Seifer

INTRODUCTION

It isn't often that the problems of white ethnic women in terms of race or sex discrimination are considered. Because they are not members of racial minority groups, the degree of discrimination they face and their problems of adjustment often go unnoticed. Their life options are limited by their cultural heritage in ways more subtle and more obscure than the constraints faced by black, Spanish-speaking, and Asian American women.

This theme emerged repeatedly in the group discussion reported here, as members explored the complex dilemma faced by women of white ethnic backgrounds. While many of these women "pass" into the mainstream of American life, there is a price—that of denying their ethnic identity. There is often a sense, even today, that the first step to becoming upwardly mobile in American society is to leave the old ethnic neighborhood, whether physically, psychologically, or both, and sacrifice a close identification with one's cultural roots.

That price is too high for some. The experience of generations of immigrants and their children is that it has been either undesirable or emotionally untenable to alienate oneself from one's roots in order to assimilate. The psychological damage that can result from violating traditional values can be devastating.

The clash of values between the majority culture and ethnic subcultures is a stress factor that often leads to permanent rupture. But to young people with ambitions of upward mobility, the financial, professional, or social rewards that a college education promises outweigh the part of their identity that they may have to deny. Since these roots provide a sense of security, their lack may be a prime cause of increasing alienation from American life. For white ethnic women who seek to move beyond the limits of tradition and develop their potential and a sense of self-esteem independent of their family roles, this is particularly acute. It should be recognized that as their roles change, so will the ethnic family. Losses and gains need to be more clearly understood.

Ethnic families and neighborhoods traditionally have been a source of emotional strength for millions of Americans, and they have provided human and financial resources that Federal, State, and local governments today increasingly are called upon to supply. In what participants saw as a time of rapid family deterioration, they called upon government to design and implement programs to shore up that strength wherever possible. Specific suggestions in this area are spelled out later.

In the broader framework of the work world, increasing numbers of women, including white ethnic women, seek preparation and training for entry or reentry into the labor market at a time of rising expectations in a falling economy. White ethnic men, in particular, who are squeezed between inflation and recession on the one hand and affirmative action employment policies on the other, may support backlash movements that would retard upward mobility for women from their own families and communities. Conflict, whether readily apparent or below the surface, must be recognized and studied by researchers.

DISCUSSION FORMAT

While the group utilized brainstorming to encourage a free flow of ideas in order to identify areas needing study and suggest research strategies to deal with these areas, several issues requiring clarification were discussed at some length. Paper writers and participants came from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives, and they strove to find a common philosophical ground from which the interchange could proceed productively.

The most difficult of these issues dealt with the interface between ethnicity and class. Because of the 1960's sociopolitical context which gave rise to the term "white ethnic," many community activists and sociologists have tended to use this term as a synonym for working class. Some conference participants were concerned primarily with the needs of lower income women; others were more interested in broad patterns of ethnicity and the needs of white ethnic women of all socioeconomic levels.

To the first group, therefore, economic barriers common to all lower income women, regardless of ethnic group, seemed most critical. To the second group, it was the ethnic factor, exemplified by stereotypes held by the larger society, that presented the most insurmountable obstacle. Their focus was on values, behavior patterns, lifestyles, and perspectives of women who are so closely tied to their ethnic heritages that they feel a chasm between the reality of their daily lives and their perceptions of what constitutes mainstream America.

The four papers presented for the group's consideration served as the backdrop for discussion. These papers illustrate the variety of perspectives described above, and at first glance they appear to present divergent and even irreconcilable viewpoints. Considering them as a unit, however, provided a basis for the suggestions and recommendations of the participants.

A general theme running through the papers was as follows: For countless middle-class women in America, ethnic identity is undoubtedly a handicap to success in the larger society, but it is working-class women whose daily lives are most affected by this identity and whose problems are most acute. Research programs, social policy directives, and legislation are needed. If those programs are to be effective, an understanding of ethnic differences must be integrated into their form and content.

THE FOUR PAPERS: A BRIEF REVIEW

The paper presented by Louise Lamphere, "The Economic Struggles of Female Factory Workers: A Comparison of French, Polish, and Portuguese Immigrants," emphasizes the common struggle of all low-income women workers, whether they are new immigrants or descendants of working-class immigrants. According to Lamphere, differences in patterns of immigration as well as in family structure and values regarding the role of women produce measurable differences in the workplace in areas such as productivity, cooperation with coworkers, and union organization.

Lamphere concludes, however, that the similarities far outweigh the differences. Economic necessity is the single most important determinant in the lives of all working-class women. Furthermore, this has always been the case. Little has changed for workingwomen since the turn of the century except that far more married women and mothers are now a permanent part of the labor force.

Kathleen McCourt, in her paper "Irish, Italian, and Jewish Women at the Grassroots Level: A Historical and Sociological Perspective," examines the lives of immigrant and ethnic women from a broad, community-oriented perspective. To support her observations, she illustrates how diverse immigrant cultures continue to have an impact on the education and occupational choices of women. However, those cultures, and therefore the role of women within them, are constantly reshaped by today's urban problems, just as they were by industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century.

McCourt points out that although different immigrant groups found different ways of adapting to American society, in all cases women were responsible for preserving the culture. That responsibility eventually extended to the environment surrounding the home: the neighborhood, which in turn became the dependable, supportive pillar on which immigrant and ethnic working-class people leaned. As the fate of older, urban neighborhoods has become increasingly uncertain, ethnic women have left their traditional roles and "gone to the barricades" in cities around the country to fight for the survival of their communities.

In "Family Roles and Identities of Scandinavian and German Women," Carol Woehrer provides insight into subtle behavioral differences among diverse ethnic groups. Whether it is to strengthen those communal helping networks so critical to the lives of working-class women in urban neighborhoods or to develop new human services or educational programs, policymakers and program developers must understand ethnic group variations in behavior patterns and values, particularly in terms of the way people relate to one another, both inside and outside the family. As women's roles and self-images change, such an understanding can help families adapt to new realities.

In "Achieving the Dreams Beyond Tradition: Counseling White Ethnic American Girls," Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard suggests how school counselors can prepare girls for new social, economic, and occupational roles. In particular, she urges counselors to present these girls with options far beyond the traditional. While she feels that counselors should be sensitive to differences in ethnic traditions and family patterns in order to communicate constructively with girls and their parents, she stresses that the universal problems faced by all girls in our society far outweigh the differences.

Viewed as a unit, the papers suggest that an understanding of ethnic differences can be critical; in dealing with family and community life, unless differences in values, behavior patterns, perspectives, and communication styles are incorporated into program designs, it is unlikely that the programs will successfully meet the needs of their clients. Both in the workplace and in schools, however, the experience of being female transcends any ethnic variation, even though ethnic identity influences adaptation to change and response to new options, such as union-organizing drives or apprenticeship programs from which women previously may have been excluded.

The participants did not reach an agreement about the salience of ethnicity versus class in the lives of white ethnic women. However, they did agree that for the purposes of this conference they would focus on the intersection of the two, i.e., the point at which needs can be identified as specific to white ethnic working-class women in America who are descended from late 19th- and early 20th-century immigrants and who in many ways still feel the stigma of being different from mainstream Americans. Indeed, they often face the same relentless economic hardship.

The participants agreed that one critical point should be made as part of the statement of findings and recommendations: problems of white ethnic women are not isolated from those of other minority-group women. The discussions that followed, therefore, should be seen as inclusive rather than exclusive. While diverse cultural histories naturally result in some differences, the bonds that unite women in seeking full partnership in American life should be seen as stronger than any differences.

This meant, discussants felt, that the recommendations arising from this conference would probably somewhat overlap those that came from the previous NIE conferences on the educational and occupational needs of black, Asian-Pacific Island, Native American, and Hispanic women. This overlap would indicate consensus on the need for women of all backgrounds to work within a multiethnic/multiracial framework to realize mutual goals.

IDENTITY CONFLICT OF WHITE ETHNIC WOMEN

Some central questions surrounding the issue of identity conflict addressed by the group include:

- Can positive ethnic heritage values be maintained at the same time that limitations of tradition are overcome and nontraditional roles, in a broader social context, are assumed?
- As the histories and cultures of different ethnic groups in American life gradually become part of school curriculums and ethnic diversity becomes accepted as a social goal, will the identity conflict faced by many ethnic women be resolved?
- What happens to the role of ethnic women as the keepers of family and community tradition, given the inevitability of economic and social change?

Specific recommendations to address these questions were as follows:

- NIE might solicit pilot projects from schools on the elementary, secondary, and college levels to develop, test, and disseminate curriculum materials on the roles and contributions of white ethnic women. These should include:

28

- Biographical and historical materials covering women's role in the economic, social, and labor history of this country

- Discussions of the changing immigrant experience and of the nature of women's roles today in countries from which the largest groups of immigrants have come

  Goals would be threefold: to build positive role models for ethnic women; to develop respect on the part of students in general; and to show the developmental role of women both here and in their countries of origin. Such new material would be part of a wider program to dispel stereotyped images.

- Attitudinal studies should be conducted in conjunction with the programs outlined above to ascertain which of the goals are achieved, which are not and why.

- NIE also might utilize the resources of women's studies programs at community and 4-year colleges, not only integrating them into the women's studies network but also surveying courses currently being offered to ascertain that materials pertaining to ethnic women are part of the programs.

- Media usage should be encouraged, and proposals should be solicited for developing pilot television and radio programs that would deal with preparing ethnic women for reentry into the world of work. These might focus, for example, on interviewing skills and basic employer expectations, and they could incorporate English language assistance in a form designed to appeal to the recent woman immigrant.

IMPACT OF ETHNICITY ON EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL OPTIONS

Too little is known about the role of ethnicity on the occupational choices of girls. The assumption is that these choices are delimited by factors originating both within and outside the ethnic community: "internal" traditions and "external" institutional bias and indifference. These limitations appear to be fueled by static and stereotypical images of ethnic women. There is, as yet, no indepth, contemporary account of the changing roles of women in ethnic communities. Selective, intensive, and comparative research could provide data to counteract ethnic and class biases found in schools and portrayed by the media. It would be important to learn:

- What are present parental attitudes toward educating daughters and how do parents view training for jobs or careers? The extent to which historical ethnic patterns still operate to channel girls into the exploiting, dead-end occupational roles, to which immigrant women have been subjected for generations, needs to be documented. Do factors like geographical location, kinship networks, employer stereotypes, and self-imposed definitions of "proper" workplace roles for women still significantly affect job choices?

A study designed to survey attitudes in a representative sample of ethnic communities across the country should be followed by specially designed materials that dispel for parents the myths about limited work life expectancies for today's young women. Instead, the importance of school, the need to take courses in math and the sciences, and projections about future educational and job opportunities should be publicized.

- Where ethnic families support job and educational programs for daughters, how do the life experiences of girls who receive special job training or education compare with the experiences of those who do not? A longitudinal study should be conducted in selected diverse, stable ethnic communities.

- What are family support mechanisms--financial, psychological, and social—that encourage educational and occupational training goals in daughters? What kinds of jobs or careers? Are they along traditional lines of women's work? Does this vary for particular groups of ethnic women?

- What are the differences today, if any, between the ethnic family's treatment of sons and daughters? In what ways has this treatment changed? Three-generational family histories would provide useful data, indicating the extent to which women's life choices are influenced by the importance placed on education for girls in different ethnic groups. It would be interesting to learn to what degree mothers are changing their views in this regard compared with fathers.

To answer these questions, the group recommended that:

- There should be comparative studies on the changing roles of women in the countries of origin and in the United States, and their impact on educational and occupational choices. It would be useful to include studies of feminist movements in these countries as well as in the United States and to relate to this the varying degrees of resistance that women from different ethnic groups encounter in breaking away from traditionally defined roles.

- There should be a study of how young women perceive their college preparation and its value to them several years after completion. Community colleges have become the most common avenue for upward mobility for the working class. However, the labor market value of 2-year college degrees is becoming doubtful. Do educational institutions in general adequately prepare young girls and women for the realities of the labor market? As growing numbers of women become heads of households, this issue increases in importance.

- To aid researchers, ERIC descriptors, which do not provide much information on white ethnic girls and women, should be corrected to remedy this lack, and NIE should use its good offices in this respect as rapidly as possible.

- There should be special training for school counselors, since they are in a unique position to help raise the aspirations of young girls and to interest them in nontraditional job areas and programs. Outreach should not omit parents and other family members, and should emphasize the importance of education for fields in which new technology is likely to provide jobs. Math, engineering, and computer skills should be promoted at the same time that labor market forecasts are disseminated. This information includes data on market trends, the relocation of factory jobs to the South and to other countries, the impact of technology on white-collar as well as blue-collar jobs, and the coming demand for computer programers and workers with mechanical, engineering, and other technical skills. This information is needed by school administrators; teachers of economics, history, social studies, math and science; vocational and technical faculty; and guidance personnel. Relaying this information to students should be incorporated into the teaching plans.

- Model programs should be set up. Two examples of education program models for working and working-class women that have been tested and found successful were reported: the community-based 2-year college of the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; and the year-long college credit programs, Trade Union Women's Studies and Career Development Women's Studies, of the Institute for Education and Research on Women and Work, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. These programs are designed to build both the skills and self-confidence of the workingwomen who attend, and ways to adapt them to meet the needs of other groups should be explored.

- Alternative higher education programs that meet the academic, occupational, financial, or cultural needs of working-class women who decide to go back to school, whether at midcareer or to seek a job for the first time, should be more widely available. Special focus should be placed not only on training for new careers or job areas, but also on helping women cope with their dual roles as workers and housewives.

ETHNIC WOMEN AND THE WORLD OF WORK

The question of how white ethnic women manage the dual roles of work and family has never been researched systematically. The following areas need to be addressed:

- What support systems, formal or informal, do these women utilize?

- Does this differ from group to group?

- Which do the users report as most satisfactory?

- Can generalizations be drawn from the differing ethnic experiences? Does satisfaction stem, for example, from availability of community services, self-help groups, family support systems?

- Where these are unavailable, are there noticeable additional stresses, mental health problems, difficulties with children, and other problems? How are they handled?

The following recommendations were made:

- For lower income ethnic women to receive assistance in obtaining jobs that pay enough to support a family or have some upward mobility, they need access to programs that recognize women's permanent place in the work force. Implementation of legislation that guarantees equal pay and equal access to jobs, and knowledge of laws that can be utilized to make the workplace as safe and hazard-free as possible, are also necessary.

- There is a need for programs to help women workers gain respect, dignity, and fair play, for humanization of the workplace, and for a focus on the quality of worklife. Members of minority groups, including women, will have to continue using public platforms to remind leaders in both the public and private sectors of these needs. At the same time, unionization and full participation in union policymaking were seen as strategies that women should learn to use more effectively in order to improve their worklives. It is still true that only one in every eight women workers is a union member, and the white-collar and service occupations in which women predominate are the least unionized of all.

- Research on how aware nonunionized women workers are of their need for collective action, and how they view this in terms of their jobs, would be useful. Studies of unionized ethnic women workers could examine their leadership roles at various levels of union organization. How did they achieve those posts, and to what extent does their success encourage other women? Through interviews it should be possible to learn how (and whether) women get ahead in their unions and what backgrounds--socioeconomic, ethnic, racial--tend to encourage leadership development.

- Research on the long-term relationship of ethnicity to interest in unionization should prove helpful. How effective as outreach mechanisms are Hispanic and other ethnic clubs that are sponsored by unions in some urban areas? To what extent can unions help to combat exploitive and ethnically divisive employment practices?

- There should be a study of obstacles to wide implementation of alternative work patterns such a flextime, job sharing, and part-time jobs, and the discussants stressed the importance of establishing prorated fringe benefits for these alternatives. An assessment of progress in this area was urged.

Three important program areas not directly related to research but emerging from the group discussion included:

- English as a second language, to be taught at times and locations convenient for workers, and on television
- Training for jobs and occupations not likely to be wiped out by technological changes, since women still are tracked into service and clerical jobs rather than skilled crafts and mechanical and engineering trades
- Preparation through media programs and through daytime as well as evening courses for the world of work, including information on job laws, on the role of labor unions and how to participate in them, and on women's opportunities in the work force.

MEETING THE NEEDS OF ETHNIC WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

Concern was expressed that all basic sociological research and public policy studies undertaken by the Federal Government be sensitive to factors of ethnicity.

Whether the issue is education, employment, or housing, new policies and programs that result from such studies will have different effects on different ethnic communities. Planners must be aware of cultural considerations and should be required to develop ethnic impact statements. This is especially critical in the area of human services.

Research questions in which the group had a strong interest included:

- What is the overall impact of the extended family on particular communities? For ethnic groups that value intergenerational ties, what kinds of new community services are needed to keep these ties from disintegrating?
- To what degree does the availability of a grandmother (in an extended-family situation) affect the mother's decision to work outside the home, return to school, or become active in community affairs?
- There has been little research on how women's participation in the work force affects the elderly. How do different groups cope with insufficient services to meet changing needs in this area? Is there a role for government in identifying and disseminating ethnically sensitive alternative programs for child and elderly care?
- A study is needed on how tax deductions or stipends for home care and related services to family members or neighbors can help slow the erosion of informal helping networks that have been the backbone of ethnic neighborhoods and helped immigrants enter into American life.

- What are the ethnic differences in the way people experience the various stages in the life cycle? What training and materials are needed to make human service practitioners aware of and sensitive to those differences?

- Are there statistically significant differences in the divorce rates among ethnic groups? If so, what are the social policy implications?

- What are the ethnic differences in coping with stress? Is there a relationship between ethnicity and certain disease tendencies? Can government work in concert with community groups to design ethnically sensitive neighborhood-based mental health care facilities (given the fact that white ethnic families generally have not utilized services outside their communities)?

Specifically, the discussants recommended:

- Locating and blueprinting success models in critical areas. NIE might request proposals from community groups that have developed programs to address specific problems: the middle-aged ethnic woman; the aging woman; the vocational and educational needs of ethnic women; the young woman worker; developing the use of community resources; alcohol and drug dependency; or the impact of divorce and separation on the ethnic woman.

Those receiving grants should analyze how their groups were organized, what problems were overcome, how leaders were developed or trained, how focal issues were selected, what group actions were engaged in, and what the results were. A complete manual on how to organize for action on particular problem areas should be one product of the grant, including copies of all relevant materials produced during the life of the project, descriptions of training programs utilized, and information on fundraising methods.

- Developing a community care model. NIE should recommend that the appropriate agency select one ethnic community for an experimental community care project to address the need for:

  - Inexpensive community-based childcare

  - Day center for older adults

  - Community health unit for outpatient care and health education

  - A school adjacent to these facilities

  The goal would be to integrate services for workingwomen who need care for both young children and aging parents; provide health care for both groups while they are at the center; and constructively utilize older adults who can participate in a volunteer capacity. Involving the ethnic community in planning as well as running the center should enhance the center's value and ensure its continuity.

As a pilot project, records should be kept and an evaluation study done. If successful, the center should serve as a model for other communities.

ETHNIC WOMEN AS ADVOCATES OF CHANGE

One participant referred to a "brain drain" from ethnic neighborhoods, i.e., the increasing numbers of young people who go to college and move to the suburbs or a "better" area. Many women whose families stay in the older neighborhoods now are working to upgrade these areas. In many cases, community groups feel that they are fighting for their survival.

As the need for new community organizations grows, the lack of leadership skills and political sophistication becomes apparent. The traditional ethnic organizations in which women have played active roles have been social, cultural, or religious groups and not oriented toward community action. Today ethnic women feel the need to have a voice of their own and to have political leverage at both local and national levels.

Participants suggested that an examination of the following questions might be the first step toward a research agenda in this area:

- Does ethnicity affect leadership styles? How does it shape the structure, goals, issues, and operation of organizations? Why do certain community organization models succeed in some areas and fail in others?

- What have been the most common strengths and weaknesses in working-class ethnic community organizations? Can successful models be developed and information about them disseminated as useful organizing tools for other groups? What attributes would define "success" in this context?

- Are there special characteristics of ethnic women who join organizations and become leaders? In terms of self-confidence and ways of dealing with power, are there differences between these women and their counterparts in the larger society? Are there significant differences in values and motives?

- Can ethnic women's organizations serve as a bridge from the old to the new? Can they lead from a more passive and supportive approach to an activist approach to dealing with the problems of women? What are the most effective vehicles for developing leadership training programs? Group members felt it important to include here development of proposal-writing skills to enable ethnic women's organizations to obtain funding from foundations, corporations, and community chests; development of programs that cover needs in a wide range of areas, from housing and health care to employment and education; and procurement of government program moneys. Training in ways to utilize the media more effectively also should be included.

- Can we isolate and study differences in leadership styles between women in ethnic organizations and leaders of feminist groups? Is feminism expressed differently in different ethnic groups? What is the current relationship of ethnic women's organizations to the feminist movement?

Specific suggestions for NIE in this area were formulated:

- NIE should solicit indepth studies that demonstrate how successful coalitions of women's ethnic organizations are formed, how they operate, their effectiveness in various areas, the issues on which they focus, their organizational structure, how they affect their community and city, and what happens to their leaders in terms of upward political mobility.

- Equally useful would be a study of the dynamics of various types of organizations involving neighborhood women, such as the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, the South East Community Organization, and the Polish Women's Alliance. Who joins? How do their core issues differ? What are the commonalities? How is leadership developed? What are the different leadership styles? How does the organization perpetuate itself, or is there an organizational life cycle?

- In some areas, attempts have been made to develop cooperation among ethnic groups in contiguous neighborhoods. Such efforts, which are not always successful, provide opportunities to learn from failures as well as from successes. These attempts, therefore, should be examined while those who have been involved in them are available to recount the experiences as they lived through them. An applied research study analyzing several attempts could include efforts to draw up specific guidelines that would give future community groups a better chance for success.

ETHNIC WOMEN AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Not the least important of the concerns discussed at the conference was women's participation in the political process at every level. It was recommended that:

- NIE should request proposals from community ethnic organizations to obtain data on such participation, on the relationship of this to ethnic group and to length of time in the United States or number of generations between immigration and the present, and on correlations between involvement in community organizations and political participation.

- NIE should foster education programs on civic participation: on the legislative process, on how government works, on the political system, and on how citizens can become involved. Materials prepared for these programs should be disseminated as widely as possible: in public schools, in the community, and in college and evening school programs.

- A directory of ethnic organizations should be developed. Although an enormous undertaking, this would aid organizations in establishing and maintaining contact with each other.
- Federal and State agencies responsible for planning and carrying out community changes should assess the impact of such changes. Although a wide range of methods for doing this are available, those that involve public hearings, consultations with community groups, and surveys accomplish the dual purpose of providing the necessary feedback to the agencies involved and opening the way for individual and group involvement in the process.

SUMMARY

Research and programs for education and training specifically designed to help ethnic women obtain occupational mobility are few. Much information is available, but researchers must be directed (i.e., funded) to begin the process of collecting it. The data they uncover could serve as the foundation for programmatic remedies. The papers presented at this NIE-sponsored conference provided a historical background from which the deliberations of the academic group flowed. Areas on which research efforts most fruitfully might be focused have been discussed. Each of these has an action component. The group felt that applied research, which would not only collect information but also lead to program recommendations, would be most useful.

We commend NIE for bringing together this group of researchers and practitioners, and hope that contacts established at the convocation will be continued.

The group felt strongly that the problems of ethnic women were different only in degree from those of minority women in general, and that a united approach to seeking equality for all women in our society was the common goal.

V. The Papers

ETHNIC WOMEN AND THE MEDIA*

Christine Noschese

INTRODUCTION

This country has assumed that American society is one big melting pot. As a result, ethnic values are typically ignored in the mass media. In the United States there are 70 million descendants of immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Spain, Greece, Armenia, and the Slavic countries, which means that approximately 35 percent of our Nation's 203 million citizens are of white ethnic immigrant descent. According to the 1970 census,[1] at least half of these are first- and second-generation descendants. Even though census data indicate that New York City has more Jews than Tel Aviv, more Irish than Dublin, and more Italians than Rome, and Chicago has more Poles than any other city in the world, including Warsaw, until recently it was rare to see anyone of obvious ethnicity in films or on television. When ethnics have been shown, their values, concerns, and lifestyles have been distorted, romanticized, and stereotyped. Ethnic families have been portrayed as psychopathic. Successful people of ethnic backgrounds have been shown as gangsters. Ethnic women have been portrayed as victims, as passive, dependent, narrow-minded, sick, or invisible.

Two areas of discrimination must be considered in discussing white ethnic women. Therefore, it is important to look at how both women and ethnics are treated by the media, what effects such treatment has on them, and how they can change this treatment.

> As long as newspapers and magazines are controlled by men, every woman upon them must write articles which are the reflections of men's ideas. As long as that continues, women's ideas and deepest convictions will never get before the public. (Susan B. Anthony, 1900; cited in "The Spirit of Houston")

THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

The image of women projected by the communications media has long been a matter of serious concern to feminists, consumerists, and social critics. It is believed that the media are largely responsible for perpetuating and reinforcing many negative images of women. As a result, women growing up in our society are not only hindered in their aspirations, but also robbed of their human dignity.

---

*EDITORIAL NOTE: The purpose of this paper is not to present research, but to articulate a practitioner's point of view as a filmmaker and community organizer. This paper serves as support material for the media presentation given at the conference. Although the films themselves provided the focus for discussion, it was felt that the compendium should contain written documentation of the filmmaker's intent and concerns.

The media have enormous impact on the formation and reinforcement of attitudes. When women are constantly presented as passive, submissive, vain, empty-headed sex objects, incapable of rational action and conscientious only about their roles as wives and mothers, it is inevitable that they will suffer psychic damage. When these stereotypes are repeated often enough, they become believable and people begin to act out their socially prescribed roles.

Psychologists tell us that the kinds of experiences that have the greatest effect on the formation of attitudes and behavior are those that are experienced earliest, most vividly, and repeatedly. These descriptions certainly apply to television. By the time the average child enters kindergarten, he or she has already spent more hours learning about the world from television than will be spent in a college classroom earning a B.A. degree. For this reason, the way he or she initially views women will leave a vivid, lasting impression. A 1975 study by Miller and Reeves presented at the International Communication Association concluded that children who are exposed to television programs that portray women in counterstereotypical occupations will perceive these occupations as more appropriate in real life. There is need, then, to portray women in a wide variety of roles, so that the next generation will grow up free of sex role stereotyping.

A 1973 United Nations report, "Discrimination Against Women in Advertising," which was published by the Commission on the Status of Women, concluded that most advertising degrades women, "that [advertising] is the worst offender in perpetuating the image of women as sex symbols and inferior beings." This document summarized the views of 28 governmental and 22 nongovernmental organizations on the "influence of mass communications on a new attitude toward the role of women in present day society."

Though more than half of all American women are in the work force, advertising does not portray them in a wide variety of career roles. Advertisements show them as unable to think for themselves, fearful of losing masculine approval, obsessive cleaners, sex objects, irrational, and indulgent. In addition, most of the voiceovers in television commercials use male voices, even for women's products.

Television programing, too, should reform its portrayal of women. It is true that network television shows have changed since the beginning of the decade. In the early 1970's, prime-time programing was primarily devoted to police and detective stories, which featured much violence and a male-oriented world. Current television programing reflects the change from action-packed, violent shows, but sex has been substituted for violence. We see programs about females who work, but the emphasis is on sensationalism. The network brass call these new shows "jiggle shows," referring to the women's breasts. It is a phrase widely used within the industry and is even reported in the trade press.

With regard to the portrayal of women in daily newspapers, one can immediately point to the women's or family/style section to illustrate the ghettoization of women in newsprint. When a story about an achieving woman is printed, she is often described in terms of her looks, or mention is made of her clothing. Neither approach is used when men's deeds are chronicled.

The problem of the image of women in the media is exacerbated by the fact that only a small proportion of women are employed in decisionmaking media jobs. Though women hold 20 to 25 percent of all media-related jobs, only 5 percent are in influential policymaking positions. In addition, the women who do hold executive positions in the media are confined to "housekeeping" positions such as personnel and public relations. When the Journalism Council used EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) 1975 statistics to analyze the percentage of women in the communications industry's "image making positions" (jobs concerned with the media's creative product), they found that periodicals had the highest percentage (37.5 percent) and that broadcasting had the lowest (13.7 percent). A 1972 study by the National Association of Radio and Television News Directors revealed that none of the 286 local television stations surveyed had a woman as news director.

In recent years, Government regulatory agencies (Federal Communications Commission, Federal Trade Commission), industry regulatory bodies (National Association of Broadcasters, National Advertising Review Board), and Government commissions (Civil Rights Commission, International Women's Year Commission) have not only addressed themselves to the negative image of women in the mass media, but have also suggested ways to eradicate them.

ETHNICITY AND CLASS IN FILM

In studying ethnicity, social class is a factor which must be examined. Since over 50 percent of all ethnics in this country are blue-collar workers,[2] characters and themes in films should reflect the needs and concerns of this constituency.

In Movies on T.V., Steven Scheuer lists 7,000 movies. A review of this listing reveals an insignificant number of films dealing with ethnics. Did the producers and directors in the past, many of whom were ethnic themselves, forget about their backgrounds? Did they feel there was no market, or did they themselves become victims of the melting pot ideology? Directors like Frank Capra, who wrote about his own ethnicity in his autobiography, used WASP characters to make their points. These men chose to deal with the American Dream and the WASP world in their films, whether because of the market or their own self-denial. They did this even though they themselves, along with 50 percent of other Americans at practically every stage of our history, were either immigrants or first- or second-generation descendants of immigrants.

In order to assess the impact of the media on women, a survey was conducted.[3] The question was asked: "Is there any character whom you remember in an American film that portrayed a woman from your ethnic group?" Most of the women interviewed thought of someone, no matter how insignificant her role, but they all hesitated first and said, "I have to think about this one for a while." The Irish thought about what was broadcast on St. Patrick's Day. Of all the Poles and Slavs interviewed, only one could think of a film about her ethnic group. Most Italians at first could remember only Mafia movies or foreign films.

Nearly all the movies and television programs of the past saw the American family as "The Hardy Boys" or "Father Knows Best," where everyone worked problems out reasonably, was jovial, mentally and physically healthy, and moral. But the ethnic American family was portrayed quite differently.

41

For the few films where the Irish were portrayed as hard-working, jovial people, there were more with a James Cagney hoodlum and a mother wringing her hands as her son was led away after killing a number of people, saying, "But officer, he was always good to me. He was a good boy."

Italian movies are almost synonymous with crime portrayed as a family affair. The whole family is corrupt, but the women in the family supposedly are kept out of the dirty stuff. They are not aware, or at least keep silent, about their sons murdering each other. The Hollywood motto for these movies is "the family stays together even if it is in the cemetery." Only in movies are ethnic mothers endowed with such a capacity for unconditional love that they will load the guns for their sons. According to Hollywood, Mrs. Corleone doesn't care what's going on as long as she can sit by the fire and make pasta.

In the last 5 years, a new sense of ethnicity has emerged. Hortense Powdermaker states throughout her book Hollywood the Dream Factory that movies are a reflection of what is happening culturally to the people who make them. Directors with names like Cassavetes, Coppola, and Scorsese started to produce films with lead characters who were definitely ethnic. Because of their own experience, the movies they made were true to life. Working-class life was a theme. The camera came to the streets. Many ethnic Americans were delighted to see anyone resembling real ethnic people on the big silver screen. But after viewing several more "ethnic" films, it became clear that something was missing. A new stereotype was emerging. The characters now were more complex and sensitive, and their problems often had to do with society and class, but they were still stereotypes. The themes surrounding the family all had to do with violence, pathology, and sexuality. The relationships between men and women were often portrayed as sexually repressive. The religious aspect of the ethnic family was distorted. When asked in the survey what qualities they would like to see in a character portraying their ethnic group, many women said "religious, family oriented, but open to new things."

In The Godfather, all religious rituals were coverups for murder. The family baptism at the church was a pretense for the murder of seven people. The lead character in Mean Streets went to church to pray about what to do with his life. His decisions led to violence and destruction. In Looking for Mr. Goodbar, Diane Keaton's character led a life of sexual promiscuity that was directly related to her Irish Catholic parents. They were portrayed as fanatics, the mother stuffing Bibles into her daughter's pocketbook while the repressed father drank himself to death rather than face the fact that his daughter might be having sex. In Saturday Night Fever, the mother's only satisfaction in life was to have her oldest son become a priest. She could conceive of nothing else worthwhile. Her expectations clearly resulted in his and the Travolta character's unhappiness with life. The Exorcist, although not about ethnicity, does deal with Catholicism, and it also shows that the young ethnic priest dies because he is a victim of his own guilt toward his mother. Women in film are not only guilt provokers and oppressors, but religious fanatics.

The plots of many movies revolve mostly around men's lives and fantasized macho rituals, which are exaggerated. Most ethnic men lead conventional lives; they work hard at a regular job and devote a lot of their time to their families and work. They do not hang out in bars, are not involved in organized crime, and are

ETHNIC WOMEN IN TELEVISION

Clearly, women are often portrayed in a demeaning and mindless manner in television commercials. White ethnic women, however, are presented in a particularly limited and stereotyped manner. Although women of Slavic and Mediterranean heritage form a sizable consumer bloc, they are largely invisible in television commercials. When they do appear, they are either caricatured or defined in an extremely narrow way.

About 10 years ago, this situation was also true for black Americans. At that time, Raymond League, a black commercial and television producer at J. Walter Thompson and one of the first blacks to be hired in an executive capacity in television, conducted a private survey with the aid of his friends to document the underrepresentation of blacks in television commercials. Their research confirmed what they had suspected: on television, blacks were indeed invisible men and women. League initiated a campaign to remedy that situation, as did other black individuals and civil rights groups. Over the years, they achieved a fair degree of success--if the fact that blacks are portrayed no more inanely than the WASP dominant culture can be termed a success.

Initially, the only blacks allowed to sell products were light skinned and Caucasian featured. Today, this is no longer the case; blacks can be dark skinned and do not have to resemble Lena Horne or Harry Belafonte to be acceptable. Even Melba Tolliver, the black newscaster, is now allowed to wear her hair Afro style, although there was an outcry among the network executives when she first stopped straightening her hair.

Television commercials scrupulously present blacks in wholesome nuclear family structures in which they advertise products like cold remedies, toilet tissue, and soapsuds; never does a black advertise a Cadillac, hard liquor, or any product that can be connected with a negative stereotype. Naturally, black performers who wish to do television commercials are bound by the same limitations facing WASP actors: inane materials and intense competition for jobs. Nevertheless, commercials have become a possible source of income for them.

When Sacraments, a CAPS award-winning play by Jo Ann Tedesco that chronicles the life of a family of Italian American sisters, was presented off-off Broadway last year, I spoke with the actresses who appeared in it. All of them had extensive stage credits, yet all expressed frustration because agents would not submit them for television commercial auditions. They had been repeatedly told they were too exotic, too offbeat looking, "too ethnic" to be believable spokeswomen for soapsuds and floor wax. To be young, gifted, and Italian may be great if you're Robert DeNiro, but to be Robert DeNiro's kid sister will make you "too ethnic"--a synonym for not usable.

It is true, of course, that Mediterranean and Jewish women are used in commercials, but generally only to sell products whose specific appeal is their ethnicity: spaghetti sauce, frozen pizza, macaroni, and chicken soup. The function of the actress is to vouch for the product's authenticity and thereby convince middle-class Americans that they are buying the real thing.

not street brawlers or thugs. Even so, the themes of happy family life can only be seen in the WASP family. The Sound of Music does not come out of ethnic homes.

Besides being religious, the new stereotype shows ethnic families as basically pathological, however sympathetic. Ethnic working-class men, more than movie directors, lawyers, detectives, and politicians, beat their wives, gamble, brawl, and despise their wives' sexuality. In Bloodbrothers, a movie that is insulting to the working-class ethnic family, the father beats his wife because he thinks that she is sleeping with a neighbor. He never even questions her; he just starts swinging. He is clearly seen as sick, like the men in The Godfather, Mean Streets, Woman Under the Influence, and Looking for Mr. Goodbar.

Women in the new films are worse. If they are visible at all, they are generally crazier than the men. The wife/mother in Bloodbrothers is the arch-stereotype of some man's hostility toward women. In one scene she is screaming hysterically, kneeling on the floor, holding a crucifix and praying because her son won't eat. This of course frightens the little boy and makes him so sick he lands in the hospital. The new ethnic stereotype is an exaggerated dramatic version of "What did I do to deserve this?" The fact that she and her husband have no sex is blamed on her repression. With all these melodramatics, what is confusing to the audience about this new ethnic life is that the director tries to make her sympathetic (she loves her son, etc.). In any case, she is not the Italian mother holding together the family with strength and perseverance, but a woman who destroys everything she loves.

In Woman Under the Influence, considered one of the most artistic films about a working-class ethnic family, there is also pathology. The woman/mother/wife in the film is too different, she is not happy with her role, a little confused. Being articulate but confused, she ends up in the nearest mental hospital. Her extended family looks and acts like something out of an R. D. Laing book; they are unsupportive, hostile to change, and cold. What makes these films so upsetting is that they have redeeming qualities and in part have accurate descriptions of working-class life. Women never seem to control their own lives in these movies, but are constantly portrayed as victims, passive and dependent on male approval. They are not strong, lively, warm supports of the family anymore, nor are they independent, self-confident, or inner motivated in these new films. In some cases they are invisible. The mother in Mean Streets is a prime example. She is not seen throughout the whole movie; the only sign of her presence is a tray of food she leaves in her son's bedroom.

The typical image presented in these commercials is of an excessively protective mother hovering over her embarrassed son while urging him to eat. If it's spaghetti sauce they're advertising, the woman will be middle-aged, plump, and flamboyantly emotional as she shouts "Mangia!" to her indulged but obedient son. If chicken soup is the product, the woman will be middle-aged, plump, and relentlessly nagging as she shouts "Eat already!"

A variation of this features the possessive mother-in-law's wary relationship with her son's bride. The mother-in-law has been invited to dinner, and her distrust of her son's wife is evident until she tastes the spaghetti sauce the young woman has cooked. She is then reassured her son will not starve to death and expresses her beaming approval that the sauce is as good as homemade. Then she accepts the daughter-in-law into the fold. The ethnic woman is repeatedly presented as a nurturing person who respects family traditions, but is also reactionary, possessive, and narrowminded.

If an actress is Italian or Jewish but not middle-aged, plump, or particularly motherly looking, she is too young to be a mother of a grown son, too thin to advertise food, and commercial agents will not know where to place her. The prototypical woman in daytime commercials is a pert, pretty, thin, glossily groomed WASP with a last name like Reynolds or Smith. She is in her early 30's, and her three major life problems are ring around the collar, waxy buildup on floors, and the paranoid fear that the brightener has been taken out of her rinse. She is also mortified to discover that her husband has kept two secrets from her all these years: he prefers stuffing to potatoes with his chicken, and he finds a certain toilet tissue softer than the one she has been buying. She vows to rectify this communications breakdown by buying the products her husband prefers.

In commercials where the pretense of interviewing "real" people is employed, the content is basically the same, but in this case the woman is not perfectly groomed but quite average looking. Her hair and clothes are not in the latest suburban fashion, she is not model thin but frequently overweight, and she does not speak in a carefully modulated Eastern standard way. Here it is interesting that the woman's name is not Reynolds or Smith but Baranowski, and if Mrs. Reynolds is dismayed to discover that her husband's shirt has ring around the collar, Mrs. Baranowski verges on hysteria. In fact, she is about to organize a campaign—not for traffic lights to protect her schoolchildren, better consumer information, or community control in the schools, but to lament the fact that the brightener might be taken out of Final Touch. "If my little boy walks around with a yellowed undershirt, what are people going to say? What kind of mother am I?" The message is clear: it is less important that the shirt is attractive for her son's sake than that her peers see her as an adequate mother. Neither Mrs. Reynolds nor Mrs. Baranowski lives in a neighborhood. They are never viewed in the context of a larger life where the appeal of a household product is its efficiency, thereby freeing the woman for more meaningful pursuits. Mrs. Reynolds is clearly the more affluent of the two, but both women define themselves entirely in terms of their domestic responsibilities (although Mrs. Baranowski is far more obsessive about this than her Anglo-Saxon sister).

If ethnic women rarely sell soapsuds, they never sell beauty products. Either their sexuality is considered too overt or they are perceived as lacking a sexual dimension. Although the women selling these products may actually be of Polish or Italian extraction, this ethnic identity is blurred to make them acceptable.

In a society where upward mobility is desirable, the expensive glamour products are a way to achieve this, and the traditional WASP sex object is the medium to convey that message. It seems that in television commercials as well as in films, ethnicity is used not to portray real Americans, but to portray what real Americans presumably want to be. In fact, according to the Women's Bureau's Handbook on Women Workers, women are misrepresented by television, both in terms of ethnicity and also in terms of the proportion of women in the labor force. Many more American women work than television commercials would lead us to believe. In 1974, 45 percent of all women worked. Women are 39 percent of the total work force of this country, and 43 percent are heads of households. Only 6.1 percent of these women make over $10,000 per year.

CHANGING ROLES OF ETHNIC WOMEN AND THEIR REFLECTION IN THE MEDIA

Most of us are aware of the differences between ethnic or traditional values and American values: familial versus individualistic, present versus future, being versus doing, subjugation to nature versus mastery over nature.[4] The new ethnic films deal with this dichotomy, but usually in a superficial way, as in relation to a career objective that the family does not find acceptable. For example, the son in Bloodbrothers wants to be a recreational therapist instead of a construction worker; in The Godfather, the son is in conflict over whether to stay with the family or follow a conventional professional career. These strains and conflicts are far more complex for the ethnic woman, and none of these films, except possibly Woman Under the Influence, focuses on the changing ethnic woman and her problems and growth.

In the survey mentioned earlier, many respondents spoke of the qualities they would like to see in women representing their ethnic group. Among the qualities most frequently listed were: strength, openmindedness, perseverance, warmth, versatility, and sense of humor. They also would like to see a woman who is independent, cares for her children, enjoys helping others, has religious feelings, is honest and direct, speaks her mind, and is not dominated by men. Overwhelmingly, the respondents' attitudes concurred with one woman who said, "I want to see someone who is like me, a woman who is growing, stands on her own two feet, loves her children and wants the best for them, and can talk to her husband like an equal."

These answers clearly indicate that ethnic women want to synthesize the best of both worlds and not discard one for the other. With few exceptions, this is not the image of women or men in the new wave of ethnic films. To "make it" means to leave the family, the neighborhood, the culture, and the parents that are holding one back. In Saturday Night Fever and in Bloodbrothers, the younger characters have to get out--"I'll leave that neighborhood and I'll make it." Both films end with the characters headed toward Manhattan, the land of opportunity. Children might have to explore new worlds to grow, but the films' message of why they have to do it is that ethnic families are oppressive and stupid; young people cannot go into the world with the self-confidence needed to succeed if they think that their families are narrowminded, sick, and do not want them to succeed.

Women dealing with the fear of stepping out of the fold or succeeding have the worst of all possible media images to follow; they fear not only failure, but also success. Whether their success comes from college, career, financial security, or just being special, they end up the sacrificial lambs in the new ethnic cinema. If they go to college, like in Looking for Mr. Goodbar or Love Story, they can be murdered or die of cancer. If they achieve financial security, like in The Godfather, they can find themselves like the sister: used and battered. If they leave the mold and act a little independently by telling off their mothers-in-law, they can end up in a mental institution, like in Woman Under the Influence. The message is clear: stay where you are even if you're not there. A look to the future offers some hope, for a few women filmmakers have indeed tried to synthesize the past and present into positive images of ethnic women. Two examples are Hester Street by Joan Silver and Girlfriends by Claudia Weill. Both women are strong but not plastic, and they respect what is old and beautiful in their cultures. In Hester Street, the woman preferred an orthodox scholar to her assimilated husband; in Girlfriends, the picture the photographer most wanted in her exhibit was of a boy at his bar mitzvah. Neither of these women was closed minded or weak; they both persevered through very different life struggles.

As a filmmaker, I have found that one of the most challenging aspects of my work is to be real and positive and not romanticize ethnic women. In the first videotape that I directed, Women of Northside Fight Back, a 27-minute documentary, I wanted to change the myth and stereotype that ethnic women are weak, male dominated, and politically apathetic, but it is important when breaking down stereotypes not to overreact and romanticize. In my second work, Mary Therese, an 8-minute, 16-millimeter dramatic film, I tried to deal with the ambivalence that three generations of Italian women have about men, marriage, and the family. I tried to be as accurate as possible by interviewing women in the community, discussing the subject matter with Italian American women friends, and analyzing my own experience. It turned out to be a comedy.

We need not cover up our faults or keep family secrets in the closet. We have so much of value in our lives that it is easy to make something truthful and artistic and still show our enormous strength, humor, and compassion. To help other ethnic women see themselves positively, we must portray our diversity and strength while being emotionally honest about our own lives and families. Without a multifaceted character we cannot identify, learn, grow, and decide what options are best for us.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Funds should be made available by Federal and State agencies for films and other media created by women.

Funds to produce educational films, videotapes, and slide shows portraying ethnic women as positive and nonstereotyped role models should be disseminated in elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. These projects should deal with the following:

- The changing roles, aspirations, and needs of ethnic women
- The impact of these changes on themselves, their families, and society
- Ethnic women historically
- The role of ethnic women in 20th-century radical movements in the United States
- Family systems of various ethnic groups

A study should be funded to deal with the proposition that commercial radio and television stations must devote a specific amount of time to ethnic women's issues as part of FCC regulations.

NOTES

1. 1970 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce.

2. Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1972.

3. I would like to thank Joyce Snyder, former media coordinator for the National Organization for Women, Marisa Gioffre, Howard Policoff, Laura Polla Scanlon, Cindy Trey, and the members of the National Congress of Neighborhood Women for their participation in this survey.

4. Lydio Tomasi, The Italian American Family, Center for Migration Studies, 1978, p. 20.

COMMUNITY ACTION: THREE PERSPECTIVES

The role of the urban ethnic woman has changed since the "social consciousness" days of the 1960's. Individuals, organizations, and neighborhoods are more aware of the needs of their communities. Within this context, the role of the ethnic woman has changed, radically in some instances. Old stereotypes of neighborhood women are dying as these women become involved in activities to maintain and revitalize their ethnic communities. As this involvement continues, ethnic women are learning skills and fulfilling roles they never thought possible. This paper, which is comprised of three sections by three individual women, is a description of the learning process and a testimony through two case studies of the growth of ethnic women in their newfound role of power.

The first section, "Organizing Neighborhood Women for Political and Social Action," serves as a backdrop for the two case studies and emphasizes that one of the best opportunities for growth and education can be through community organizing. This premise is borne out in the case studies, one of the North End Community Health Center in Boston and the other of the Museo Italo Americano in San Francisco. These case studies, though very different in content, are similar in process: a woman has perceived a need, committed herself to the project, and worked unceasingly to bring the project to fruition. These women are examples to us all of what can be accomplished with meager resources and unswerving determination.

ORGANIZING NEIGHBORHOOD WOMEN FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTION

I. Elaine Lowry

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on organizing neighborhood women for political and social action from the viewpoint of a staff person working with groups on neighborhood issues in southeast Baltimore. The organizational context is the South East Community Organization (SECO). The paper describes the neighborhood and the organization, discusses the involvement of neighborhood women in the organization, analyzes the role of the staff organizer in developing women as leaders, and recommends to the National Institute of Education the areas in which its leadership and support are vital for continuing the community efforts of working-class women all over the country.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANIZATION AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

SECO is a mass-based community organization composed of approximately 70 member groups, which are block clubs, improvement associations, churches, schools, PTA's, issue action groups, and unions. The community is a proud, working-class conglomerate consisting of first- and second-generation Polish, Greek, Italian, Ukrainian, German, Finnish, Irish, Czech, black, Appalachian, and Lumbee Indian immigrants.

The neighborhoods of SECO comprise the oldest sections of Baltimore City and a section of the city centering on the harbor. The population is approximately 94,000, of which 10 percent are black and 1.6 percent are American Indians; the majority are from white ethnic groups. The median income in the community is less than $8,000, well below the metropolitan average of $10,577. More than half of the southeast Baltimore residents have not gone beyond the ninth grade; only 3 percent have college degrees. Nearly one-fifth of the population is over 60 years old. Half of the houses in the community are owner occupied. The area is a patchwork quilt of neighborhoods that are, in many ways, urban villages with their own distinct leadership, culture, and boundaries. The organizing activity of SECO has been based on this neighborhood concept.

The organization was formed in 1971, when community leaders recognized that the area had been written off by the city planners and politicians; a 10-lane expressway was going to replace the well-scrubbed, marble-stepped rowhouses. In response to the plans for this highway and a zoning ordinance that would encourage more industry in the community, the leaders decided it was time for southeast Baltimore to organize. And organize it did. Successful organizing on the issues created an unprecedented power base within the community.

Two important assumptions shaped the development of the organization. The first assumption was that the purpose of the organization was to create a power base from which the community could work in confronting issues. Organizing for political power rather than developing social service programs was a conscious decision made by the leadership and staff. The second assumption was that the organization should not only mobilize for political strength, but also increase its leaders' awareness of group process. Because of the impact of this second assumption, the term "group process" should be clearly defined.

The concept of group process assumes that:

- All adults can learn new skills if they so desire
- Each person in the group has a contribution to make
- The organizational effort is collaborative, not individual
- Reflection is as necessary as action if the group is to learn from its successes and failures

These values were expressed by the staff person and readily adopted by the leadership. The women in particular understood how important it was for the group to get the job done as well as to maintain the "glue" among members of the group and among the various neighborhoods.

A great benefit of the group process approach was that as a result of continual reflection, the leaders came to understand how the various elements of the organization were functioning and interacting. Furthermore, when conflict arose, the organization could cope in ways that did not destroy the individuals or the group. SECO has endured through serious conflicts because of norms within the organization that said, "We're going to sit down and hash this out until it is resolved." This attitude has enabled SECO to survive conflicts that have totally destroyed other organizations.

Today, 7 years later, SECO continues to be actively involved in neighborhood issues, to provide human service programs to youth, senior citizens, and families, and to manage an economic development corporation.

INVOLVEMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD WOMEN IN THE ORGANIZATION

Why Women Became Involved

When SECO first started, it had only one staff person and no money to hire more. Fifteen people, mostly women, volunteered to work 15 hours a week for 3½ months to organize for the first community congress. Why was there more of a response from women? For the most part, these women had worked at home rearing children, and the issues raised in the community were traditional "home" issues with which they could identify. Schools and heavy truck traffic affected the education and safety of the children; decreasing real estate values affected the family's major investment; and the expressway threatened the entire community. In terms of economics, the women did the shopping and were aware of the bread-and-butter issues in the community. They were the practical heads in the family and saw the need for action. Another factor influencing the involvement of women could be called their world view, a perception and awareness that was formed not only by the culture of the neighborhood, but also by the magazines the women read and the television programs they watched. These two activities broadened their knowledge of national problems like desegregation, the plight of cities, and the moral disintegration in politics.

Not every neighborhood woman was concerned about these issues, but there was a core of women who understood exactly what was needed once the staff person began talking to them about building an organization to deal with neighborhood issues. With the support and encouragement of the group and the staff person, the women became articulate spokespersons for the neighborhood. In comparison, the men in the community held jobs in industry that were tedious and boring, and they spent what spare time they had watching ballgames, socializing at political or fraternal clubs, or hanging on the corners.

The involvement of community women in the organization arose from their ability to take risks, to understand what was needed, and then to act on that understanding. Being involved with SECO meant taking the risk of being called a Communist, being snubbed by longtime neighbors and friends, and being thought a "bad mother" because the children were left with babysitters or their fathers while mothers engaged in community activities. Often the children of these mothers were verbally attacked in school by other children acting out their parents' hostility. Risk taking is a function of autonomy, and in working at home, the community women were more autonomous than their husbands. They had not experienced a threatening boss, inhumane work conditions, or demanding company policies, and this may have made them more willing to step into the front lines in battles over community issues.

Role of Women Within SECO

An important characteristic of the women's role in the organization was their influence on the organizing staff, which was all male at the time. Being an organizer is a very exciting experience, and it is easy to be seduced by the strategy and tactics of fighting on an issue. When an organizer presented a strategy that did not fit the norms of the neighborhood or the organization, it was usually the women who objected to the strategy and encouraged the group to develop a more appropriate one. Many times the women would say, "It doesn't feel right," not knowing why exactly, but holding their ground until the group began to see their viewpoint. After a particular action was over and the strategies used were analyzed, the group generally agreed that the initial strategy would not have worked. This sense of values about tactics has continued and has been one of the organization's chief strengths. In addition, the male organizers acknowledge that they have learned from the women in the community and have grown to respect the women's sensitivity about strategies.

As mentioned earlier, the original organizing group in SECO was comprised mostly of women. As the time grew near for the community congress, people were recruited to run for office, and many people naturally looked to the group of 15 for possible candidates. Not one woman ran for an office that signified power. One woman ran for secretary and, of course, won. Some tentative conclusions can be drawn from this situation: the women were unwilling to assume highly visible positions because they lacked the self-confidence to do the job, were unsure of their political capabilities, and feared failure (or success). The men, on the other hand, had held office in their own organizations or unions and were familiar with organizational power and politics. As a result, the familiar pattern was repeated: women played the supportive role, while the men held the positions of power.

Problems of Women Who Are Active in Community Organizations

It is impossible to talk about the involvement of these neighborhood women without reciting the many problems they experienced in their first attempt at community organizing. For the women with children, childcare was a persistent problem. Often there was not enough money to pay a babysitter. Furthermore, as the women spent more time away from home, their husbands became less willing to babysit the children. Community women talked about not spending enough time with their children and felt guilty, fearing that they were being neglectful. A few women had mothers who lived close by and could help.

Marital discord was experienced by several of the women in the organization. Very often the women faced arguments with their husbands when they came home from an evening meeting. Part of the organization's socializing and strategy analysis took place at neighborhood bars after meetings or actions, and many women were forbidden to attend these later meetings. One woman was consistently locked out of her house; she finally withdrew from the organization after her husband threatened to beat her.

This problem of marital stability in the context of community organization has not been given enough attention. Men often become so threatened when their spouses begin to change and grow that the marriage gradually deteriorates. To deal with this problem, men need their own consciousness-raising groups so they too can identify their wants and needs, but in working-class communities this is not happening.

Women's Consciousness-Raising Group

As SECO began to grow, the staff increased but remained totally male. The women began discussing how they were being treated by the male staff and officers of the corporation, and a meeting of women in the organization was called. Several women attended, and all said the same thing: they felt the staff was not listening to them; when they volunteered to work, they were given trivial office jobs. In particular, the female office secretary felt she was being used as a janitor. This meeting was followed by a meeting with the director and president of the organization, who felt threatened when the women made their points clear. After this meeting, some things changed and some did not.

At this point, nine of the women decided to meet every week to discuss their experiences in the organization and in their personal lives. The women in this group were from several ethnic groups and ranged in age from 23 to 65. The group met regularly for 1 year, during which time they covered every topic imaginable. After the year, the women emerged stronger and more aware of the need for solidarity among women.

The group had one major accomplishment that affected the whole organization: they ran an all-woman slate of officers, with one exception--a male secretary. The slate won the election, and the organization had its first woman president.

ROLE OF STAFF IN ORGANIZING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Overcoming Traditional Sex Role Stereotypes

One of the chief influences in training women to organize for political action is the staff organizer. Although more women are beginning to work as staff organizers, the maiority are still men, most of whom bring to their organizing work the traditional assumption that men are better than women. This attitude is starkly delineated when the male organizer works with a female volunteer. The experience of the community woman goes something like this: she makes a point at a meeting, but not until the point has been raised by a male in the group is it considered important; she volunteers to work on an issue and gets stuck making coffee or telephone calls; she says she feels something isn't going right in the meeting but is ignored; the chair asks someone to take minutes of the meeting and the men look at a woman, expecting her to volunteer; she answers the office telephone and the caller asks for the male organizer because the caller has something "important" to relate. All of these spoken and unspoken messages tell the neighborhood woman that she is just not good enough for the job. If she has gotten these messages all of her life, she will probably believe them; she will walk away feeling, in some undefined way, uncomfortable about herself.

This condescension toward women volunteers is an excellent example of self-fulfilling prophecy: tell a woman often enough that she isn't competent, and she will refuse challenging, responsible duties. But the reverse is also true. Ironically, the male organizer constantly uses the positive side of this theory in working with groups on neighborhood issues: he continually emphasizes the certainty of winning an issue. All of the research, data gathering, and strategizing are geared to this end. Why can't he transfer this same enthusiasm to developing female community leaders?

This raises two questions: How can we teach women to deal with this type of treatment? How can we teach the male organizer to open his eyes, to acknowledge and use the talents of these women? The SECO women answered the first question by forming a consciousness-raising group. The second question is much tougher because it addresses the whole issue of men's consciousness; after years of struggling with this problem, I have concluded that it is men's responsibility to raise their own consciousness, not the duty of the women around them.

Power Roles

A key feature of the role of the organizer in leadership development is the issue of power and the organizer's understanding of his/her power. In the volunteer/staff relationship, the staff person wields a tremendous amount of power because he/she is regarded as the only person with knowledge and experience in organizing for results. The relationship often resembles that of teacher/student or mentor/understudy. It is very easy for the staff person to become self-important; coupling this with the sexual dynamics that occur in any man/woman relationship, it is clear that staff persons must be sure of who they are, what they are doing, and why. Staff training in this area must address the organizers' use of their power and provide an ongoing dialogue with the leaders they are developing in order to make these leaders aware of their own power.

As a female organizer, I experienced a different set of problems. The working-class men often regarded me as a sex object and therefore discounted much of my leadership development efforts. If I was in a strategy meeting with a male organizer, the men usually deferred to him. Also, the wives of the active men sometimes viewed me as competition; it was only after some long, hard work that they realized I was not looking for a romantic or sexual liaison with their husbands. Again, this points to the need for the organizer to be focused in her work, accepting what is and working with it.

A major part of organization development focuses on strategy, tactics, and research. These tools are important, for they are the backbone of effective organization, but more is needed--staff organizers must also take time for self-evaluation, to determine who they are, what their role is, and what they should be doing to fulfill that role. Therefore, in training organizers for a staff role, we must strike a balance between self-awareness and the usual strategy-and-tactics education.

TECHNIQUES IN ORGANIZING

The following is an outline of the tasks and goals of community organizing, taken from an article in The Christian Science Monitor (September 9, 1977) that included interviews with community organizers around the country.

(1) Knock on doors: Select an area and start by talking with the residents. Find out the issues and problems that need tackling. Be prepared for lots of coffee and fun around kitchen tables.

(2) Call a meeting: Involve as many people as possible. Focus on a goal--an abandoned building, potholes, or a dead tree. Be specific. Keep it simple at first.

(3) Design an organization: Decide what type of organization is most appropriate to solve the problem. A block club, neighborhood association, or city-wide coalition are some options. In the early stages especially, keep the organization and the leadership flexible.

(4) Train leaders: Match volunteers with what they do best. Some people stuff envelopes better than they speak in public, and vice versa. Each is important. Don't wait for the perfect leader. Experience builds leaders. Organizing is heady business, and rotating leadership prevents both fatigue and "ego tripping."

(5) Do the necessary homework: Community research is essential. At a hearing, 30 residents have an impact. If 30 residents are armed with accurate information, their influence on the hearing can be multiplied fivefold.

(6) Build a coalition: Be willing to put down the personal agendas and join hands with other organizations. In organizing support for a cause, the greatest quantum leap is building from one group to two groups. From two to twenty is simple by comparison.

(7) Take action: Action can mean anything from a letter-writing campaign to meetings with public officials to picketing. This is where numbers pay off. When negotiating with those who have the power to solve the problem, be specific with the demands. Know the "bottom line," the minimum acceptable solution beyond which you will not budge. If you are given a promise, get it in writing.

(8) Take the offensive: Most community organizations are created to fight against something. If the organization is only battling an enemy, when "peace breaks out" the organization will devour itself. Fight for something. Have a positive alternative to offer in place of what is opposed.

(9) Raise funds: It is never too early to begin raising money. Expenses mount quickly: postage, telephones, supplies, and a professional staff.

(10) Process, not product: The hardest part of community organizing is learning that the end product is less important than the process of neighbors identifying issues, taking action together, and gaining strength. Issues come and go. Turning neighborhood residents into neighborhood activists is a never-ending process. After one battle is won, the process begins all over again.

CONCLUSIONS

When neighborhood women work in an area that is unfamiliar to them, they need and want the support of others in the group, particularly the staff organizer.

Effective community leadership does not just happen. It is a reflective, thoughtful process in which the neighborhood women and the organizer work in a supportive, pushing way--supporting the women in their present roles and pushing them to grow into bigger ones.

Neighborhood organizing is an educational experience for which no classroom can substitute. After women have been successful in learning and using new skills, whether chairing a meeting, making a presentation before the city council, or writing an article for the neighborhood newspaper, their self-confidence increases and they find themselves with power and abilities they never knew existed. Once neighborhood women see organizing as a means of personal growth, they are motivated to continue their involvement.

This paper has described a model based on one-to-one tutoring or sharing, but the same type of leadership development can be structured in groups.

There is a need for those first-generation leaders to serve as role models for the new women coming up in the organization. Reflection as well as group sessions are needed to discuss the methodology and practice of leadership. If this happens, there is less chance that the leaders will become staff dependent.

To carry out the working-class woman's agenda, we need:

- to recruit and train women organizers who are sensitive to the feminist interpretation of neighborhood issues and who understand the dynamics of the working-class community
- to recruit and train neighborhood women to work on neighborhood issues, with a special emphasis on developing the women as leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The major point of this paper is that organizing women for political and social action on the neighborhood level can itself be an educational experience. Therefore, the National Institute of Education should support neighborhood organization efforts and, in particular, support the development and education of community women in this context.

In using neighborhood community organizations, the National Institute of Education should develop an experiential program in several cities that focuses on the development of women as leaders and deals with the problems that women experience as they become involved in the community.

Given the need for more women organizers, the National Institute of Education should develop a training program for women organizers in working-class communities. This program should use the group process approach of not only concentrating on issues, but also developing organizations and leadership.

DEVELOPING A NEIGHBORHOOD-BASED HEALTH FACILITY

Elaine Wilson

INTRODUCTION

The following remarks are divided into two sections. The first deals with my involvement in the establishment of a community health center and some of the issues related to that involvement. The second is an overview of broad health policy issues and addresses the importance of the feminine perspective in policy development.

PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

The North End: A Changing Ethnic Community

The North End is physically isolated from the rest of the city by the Boston Harbor on three sides and the central artery on the fourth. As a result, the neighborhood has retained much of its Italian American heritage and Mediterranean flavor. The North End is also one of New England's most densely populated communities: more than 14,000 people reside in less than 1 square mile. It is an Italian American community that is relatively homogeneous and family oriented. However, the population configuration of this community is changing. In 1970, the population was estimated to be approximately 11,000, 78 percent of which was Italian American. The population has risen to 14,000, but it is now estimated that only 68 percent is Italian American. This change is the result of upper middle-class residents moving into areas along the waterfront and an increasing number of transient college students and young professionals who are moving into the often reasonably priced small apartments in the North End that have been vacated as elderly Italians die.

The median annual family income in the North End is $8,395, slightly below the average for all Boston neighborhoods. Twelve percent of all families have incomes below the poverty level, and 28 percent can be characterized as medically indigent. Many of these families are recent immigrants. Nine percent of all families receive public assistance, which may include Medicaid. The unemployment level in the North End is 80 percent higher than in the rest of Boston. More than half of the North End's working population is employed in the trades, in retail businesses, or as unskilled labor. In the past, young people who had left school were able to go into this type of employment. But as these opportunities have decreased with increasing technology and other changes, young people have been less and less able to follow in their parents' footsteps.

This is my community. It is where I was born and raised, where I was married, and where I decided to return. Only after leaving was I able to resolve personal and cultural conflict and return to the community. The North End is where I will raise my children. It is here that I will stay. This is my home.

My Involvement in the Health Center

Need for Action. My involvement in community action was precipitated by the fact that I had an asthmatic son who was often forced to be absent from school. The principal of his grammar school told me about a community meeting being called by the director of a settlement house in the North End and a representative of the Department of Health and Hospitals. At this meeting were neighborhood women who, like myself, were faced with immediate, crucial problems of poor health care services for their families. Local doctors provided unsatisfactory treatment. In addition, the outpatient department at the local hospital was costly and inadequate. It was located outside the neighborhood, thus entailing transportation costs; the bills were high, particularly for those families not covered by hospital insurance; patients often had to wait for hours before seeing a doctor; and they rarely saw the same doctor twice. The women attending this meeting were similar in background and needs. They were mothers and housewives, with a high school education and no special training in health care, but they all recognized that the health care services available to them and their families were not adequate to meet their needs. Above all, they felt a strong sense of identity with their ethnic neighborhood; they were working-class people of similar cultural backgrounds who knew their community and its needs, even though they did not know how to go about fulfilling those needs. Because these needs were so acutely and personally felt, they had the courage and stamina to take whatever action would be necessary.

Developing the Health Center. This new group decided to meet regularly and asked me to chair the meetings. Although I had no experience in this, I relished the opportunity and just did what seemed best to accomplish the tasks. We decided to break up into subcommittees, with each person taking a task, so that we could determine the best strategy for developing a program that would meet the health needs of our area. One subcommittee was to meet with a lawyer to decide whether the group should incorporate as a nonprofit organization in order to receive funds directly. Another subcommittee was to conduct a neighborhood survey to determine the extent of community concern about the lack of good health care resources and services. A third group was to meet with local agencies to try to develop a resource file so that we could determine, by pooling resources, the various areas of concern. We concluded that we needed a health center that provided the community with a number of different services at a reasonable fee and at a place easily accessible to community residents. A prime concern was the language barrier, which kept many of our residents from obtaining services.

Throughout these early stages I was very unsure in my role as chairperson and frightened about having to negotiate with institutions like the Massachusetts General Hospital. I also had to deal with city officials both in the health area and at city hall itself, and had to meet with Federal and State personnel from many agencies. Fortunately, during these early negotiations a young man with expertise in health care volunteered to help us for 4 months. We quickly developed an excellent working relationship and began to learn the health care jargon and politics. But something else began to happen that we probably did not realize at the time: our young volunteer was learning as much from us about the way health care should be delivered in our particular community as we learned from him about health care delivery in general.

60

This learning/teaching process did much to build my self-confidence. I recognized that I had something of value to contribute that would benefit my community, but I also could lean on someone with greater technical competence when necessary. By going through the process once with someone knowledgeable, I could learn enough to go through it the next time on my own. It was the integration of my felt need for health care, the support of a knowledgeable person, and the realization that my own expertise was as valid as that of the so-called professionals that allowed me to grow in my role.

After a year of many meetings and hard work, the group finally found money, space, and physicians to begin the North End Community Health Center. In April 1971, 15 months after our first meeting, we opened the doors of the center and began to provide services. I continued as chairperson of the board of directors during this time. A year after the center opened, the board of directors asked me to quit my part-time job and assume the position of director of the North End Community Health Center. Although this was a great honor, I hesitated to accept because I feared that the community would suffer from my lack of training in health care. However, since I knew that I had grown in knowledge and competence, I decided to accept, but also decided that if my holding this position in any way harmed the center or the community, I would relinquish the job. It was important that I remain as chairperson of the board as well as director of the health center so that there would be liaison between the staff and the board, ensuring that communication would remain open. Since the board of directors was legally, morally, administratively, and financially responsible for the center, it was important that they be kept abreast of the daily activities of the center. We had seen, through the experiences of other health centers, the importance of communication and interaction between the staff and the board. However, Federal regulations made me relinquish my seat as chairperson of the board of directors. I did remain on the board as an honorary member because I wanted to maintain continuity and liaison between the staff and the board. I was able to continue as liaison because of the growth of the board members and their understanding.

Growth of the Center. The health center grew tremendously over the next few years, both in scope of services and in number of patient visits. In 1978, 7 years after it opened, 47,000 patient visits were recorded, involving such services as pediatrics, well-baby, adult medicine, obstetrics/gynecology, family planning, allergy, dermatology, ophthalmology, lab services, podiatry, nutrition, dentistry, mental health, and social service. X-ray services were recently added, and optometry services soon will be. These are some of the services that community residents have asked us to bring into the center so that their needs can be met in a place that is familiar and comfortable to them.

It is important that we meet the needs of our community in the way expected of us. Since nearly 70 percent of the residents of the North End are of Italian heritage, their needs differ from those of residents of communities with different ethnic compositions. The Italian culture is a very sensitive one. Therefore, it is important that the people who make the decisions, such as the board of directors, have a similar background or a deep understanding of community needs. In that way they can deal with the very sensitive issues involved in developing programs for the center. One issue, for example, was developing family planning services for Italian women. It is very difficult to establish services that will not offend the

61

community at large or the individual participants who may have strong religious or ethnic feelings.

During my 6 years as director of the health center, I have dealt with a number of professional people, including doctors, lawyers, nurses, physician assistants, mental health associates, psychiatrists, and dentists. This relationship with professionals in the health area made me realize my need for further education. Consequently, I entered college in September 1975. For the next 15 months I studied, worked full time, and cared for my husband, three children, and home. In December 1976, I graduated with a B.A. in public health. But it was not without problems; my mental and physical health began to crumble because of the tremendous strain on my time. Nevertheless, I am considering returning to school, at a slower pace, to earn my master's degree.

During my involvement with the health center, I have received personal honors: I was nominated as one of the four candidates for the John F. Kennedy award of excellence, which is made to a University of Massachusetts - Boston graduate; I have been named a faculty member of the Simmons College School of Nursing and a corporator of the Massachusetts General Hospital; and I am a member of several committees within the Massachusetts General Hospital representing the North End Community Health Center. I have been active in many other organizations, including home health care and nutrition programs, and I have lectured at many universities about the role of the community in a neighborhood health center.

There were two factors in this success. First, I had an innate but hidden talent for dealing with people and could be aggressive in obtaining things I felt were needed by my community. Second, I had the opportunity to work with knowledgeable people. I was able to learn on a one-to-one basis within real-life situations.

I still am not self-confident about lecturing, but I want to emphasize that everyone can realize civic goals as long as they have the determination to succeed and are willing to invest their time and energy. It doesn't take a lot of education, but it does take ingenuity and hard work to achieve goals. It is also essential to have a good learning situation and a chance to succeed. If the environment is too hostile, you can fail no matter how hard you try. Don't pick a civic task because it's easy, but pick one that offers at least an even chance of success, and then invest your heart, talents, and time to your cause.

POLICY ISSUES

Role of Women in Policy Decisions

In my community, it is the women who handle most of the health care needs of the family. They are responsible for bringing children to the outpatient department or emergency room as well as dealing with the problems described in the first part of this paper. Women also bear most of the burden of caring for a sick or disabled parent. Consequently, the lack of good alternatives to nursing home care falls heavily on them. In addition, women use the medical care system much more frequently than men.

Another factor is finances. In my community, women must budget the family income very carefully. Excessive medical costs put unreasonable demands on the attempt to maintain a decent home. Spending too much on medical care means spending too little on food, furniture, clothing, and other necessities.

For these reasons, a woman's perspective on policy considerations is very important. While I do not believe that only women should set policy, I do feel that their views are critical in planning and implementation.

Policy Needs

One of the most important policy issues currently being debated in Washington is national health insurance (NHI). This plan should begin with comprehensive benefits. There is debate about implementing a catastrophic-type plan that would take effect after the family had spent about $2,000, which is 20 percent of most families' incomes. This is much too high and does not help women who make repeated trips to the hospital. There is also debate about incorporating a deductible, but it would be easier to charge a small co-insurance payment (maybe $5 a visit), which would not prevent people from obtaining needed care but would distribute costs.

Each community must be involved in providing health care. Neighborhood health centers must have a place in any NHI scheme, since they provide accessible care with consumer control. Until NHI becomes a reality, policy should be set to ensure the continuance of health centers. Centers cannot succeed without grant support, since most of their patients have no insurance coverage. The grants allow centers to provide a kind of mini-NHI by subsidizing the costs for those who cannot pay and are an excellent mechanism for providing comprehensive health care until people can be covered by NHI.

The idea of the health maintenance organization (HMO) is a good one. Health centers have a role in the HMO and should control it. Health centers are unique community responses to community problems and should not be subsumed under other organizational control merely for the sake of a new concept. Health centers can thus wed two good concepts and come up with the best of both.

Monies should also be made available to train ethnic women in the field of health in order to increase the number of midlevel practitioners. This would serve a twofold purpose: first, it would train women to do jobs for which they are most competent; second, it would help patients by allowing them to be seen and cared for by practitioners who understand their culture and language.

Since health care policy considerations will have a profound effect on women, all of these policy considerations must be determined with strong female input. If women can obtain jobs in these areas, then such input will be institutionalized.

THE MUSEO ITALO AMERICANO: MY INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ITALIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN SAN FRANCISCO

Giuliana Nardelli-Haight with Rose Scherini

ITALIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

From the arrival of the first Italian immigrants 150 years ago, Italians have played a vital role in the history of California. There are 350,000 Italian Americans of foreign stock in California, 120,000 of these in the greater San Francisco Bay area.[1] Although this is a relatively small settlement of Italians, especially compared with other metropolitan areas like New York or Chicago, this ethnic group has had a significant impact on San Francisco in the areas of business, politics, and culture.

San Francisco's Italian American community was at one time a fairly cohesive group, both geographically and socially, but today it is dispersed and fragmented. Population mobility during World War II and the postwar era precipitated a breakup of Italian neighborhoods, and this disintegration has been exacerbated by the near-disappearance of what were once Italian neighborhoods in North Beach and the outer Mission. In addition, the number of Italian immigrants coming into the area is small. Those that do come are more educated and more "modernized" than the earlier immigrants, and they tend to form a separate community or to move into American social groups more quickly. Thus, continuing immigration, instead of renewing the Italian community, helps to fragment it.

Other factors contributing to this divisiveness within the community are the numerous clubs and associations. These organizations often appear to exist for their own special purposes, rather than to encourage ethnic cohesion, and there are several rival subgroups dominated by a small number of leaders. Many attempts have been made to open an Italian cultural center, but all failed, primarily because of divisive forces based on regionalism, politics, status, and generations.[2]

THE MUSEO ITALO AMERICANO

Background: The Archeoclub d'Italia

My involvement with the Italian American community of San Francisco, which began 4 years ago, was motivated primarily by esthetics; I was struck by the incredible spectrum of the city's architectural styles and by the strong Italian influence. A further analysis revealed that there are as many structures in the Italianate architectural style as in the Victorian.

My investigation of the Italianate architecture of San Francisco culminated in an article published in the Columbus magazine in 1976 and in a documentary for educational television (KQED), which was aired also in 1976. In researching this subject, I interviewed many people from different walks of life and came to realize that there is a great misconception about Italian Americans as a group, as well as a lack of appreciation among Italian Americans themselves for their unique contributions to American society.

Many Italian immigrants and their descendants, even though they had little or no formal education, possessed remarkable skills that contributed to the building of America. I began to feel there was a need to replace negative images and denigrating stereotypes through cultural activities that would reinforce the sense of identity of Italian Americans and increase their pride in the Italian influence in American life. This perception led me to volunteer in the founding of the Archeoclub d'Italia in America (ACIA). This nonprofit organization is a chapter of the Archeoclub d'Italia in Italy, whose goals are to make the public aware of the importance of exploring, documenting, and preserving its enormous priceless heritage, a heritage that extends from prehistoric times to the present and is a vivid testimony to Italy's fundamental role in forming Western culture. The function of the local Archeoclub d'Italia in America is to share with the public the experience of both discovery and preservation of this cultural heritage. Over the past 2 years, ACIA has presented a weekly lecture series on archeological Italy, a monthly archeological seminar at the University of San Francisco, and a weekly FM radio program (on KALW) of interviews and excerpts from its public lecture series on archeology and cultural events in the bay area.

Founding of the Museo

As ACIA's membership grew and people began donating archeological artifacts, I began to dream of a Museo Italo Americano where we could display not only archeological finds but also Italian and Italian American works of art, and where we could develop educational programs to foster appreciation for Italian and Italian American art, history, and culture. Aware of the divisive factors in the community that had resulted in past failures to establish an Italian cultural center, I decided to pursue this goal through the ACIA and to present the Italian community with a fait accompli. Most of the expenses came from my own pocket, and the remainder, approximately $500, from donations and membership fees. I did not want to ask for financial help until the Museo was established because the contributors would have argued over goals, place, when, who, etc., and the project, like others in the past, would have fallen apart. I did receive help from individuals like Dr. Mark Luca, artist and educator, and Mr. Franco Bruno, owner of Malvina's Coffee House, in North Beach, who donated space for the Museo. After all, what better place for a Museo Italo Americano than North Beach, a district of San Francisco that was once the geographic and cultural center for Italians. Another individual who contributed ideas and expertise in planning the Museo was Elio Benvenuto, visual art director for the San Francisco Art Commission and member of the advisory board of Cal-Expo, in Sacramento.

The Museo Italo Americano, the first museum of its kind in the United States, opened on August 17, 1978, with an exhibit of paintings by Paolo Emilio Bergamaschi, a prominent Italian artist, and sculptures by Beniamino Bufano, Elio Benvenuto, and Peter Macchiarini, local artists. The turnout was beyond our expectations: close to 1,000 people attended. Among those present were Dr. Paolo Emilio Mussa, Consul General of Italy, and prominent citizens of the city and State, along with a cross-section of the bay area's Italian Americans and others interested in Italian art and culture.

Goals of the Museo

Objectives of the Museo for the first year are:

- Exhibits of Italian and Italian American art and craftsmanship
- Showing of archeological finds from Italy
- Ethnographic and historical displays pertaining to the history of Italian Americans
- Research on and outreach to other ethnic communities

Objectives within 5 years include:

- Joint exhibitions with other ethnic groups
- Preparation of audiovisual programs with Italian and Italian American themes
- Field trips, such as tours of buildings of the Italianate architectural style in San Francisco

We are committed to the conservation of historical and contemporary Italian and Italian American art, as well as the preservation and exhibition of all materials that form a part of the history of Italian Americans. We also plan to reach out to other ethnic groups to encourage their participation in the activities of the museum, for we believe that our purpose is best served by sharing our heritage and experience with other groups.

The Museo will, among other things, save Italian American materials from destruction and obscurity and will work with other Italian organizations to ensure that none of our rich heritage is lost. In addition, we want to promote the works of contemporary Italian artists. A pending project will provide a vehicle to combine our various purposes and to promote a specialized interest in women artists.

A major recommendation arising out of this conference was that the lives of leading ethnic women and their contributions to society be researched and chronicled. In this regard, the Museo Italo Americano plans to initiate a program to (1) research the lives of major Italian American women artists and document their various works; (2) exhibit works by these local artists; (3) arrange to bring works of Italian women from Italy; and (4) coordinate traveling exhibits of local and Italian women artists with museums throughout the United States and Italy. This program will culminate in a permanent section in the Museo Italo Americano for Italian and Italian American women artists. Museo staff will research, collect, and prepare educational and cultural tools such as cassettes, books, and audiovisual displays and will make these materials available for distribution to other museums, schools, and colleges. The aim of this project is to increase understanding of the important role played by Italian American women and to correct traditional stereotypes, thereby establishing a positive identity that demonstrates alternative roles for these women.

66

LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Now we face the challenge of approaching the various individuals and organizations in the Italian community to make them part of the Museo Italo Americano. So far my experience as an Italian woman trying to give life to a project in a traditionally paternalistic and divided community has been helped by past and current phenomena within this community. Although the traditional role of Italian American women has been that of mother, women have provided leadership in the Italian American community from the beginning. The following are examples of women leaders in the local community.

A distinguished Italian American woman in the early 1900's was Dr. Mariana Bertola, physician and daughter of immigrants. She was a founder of Vittoria Colonna, a women's club that promotes both the arts and social services. Dr. Bertola was also a leader in providing specialized medical services for mothers and children.

The first instructor in the Italian department at the University of California, Berkeley, was Maria Tommasini Piccirillo, who spearheaded the establishment of the chair of Italian culture at the university in 1928. In 1949, she and two other women (Mrs. Dobbins d'Anneo and Countess Lillian Dandini) founded the Leonardo da Vinci Society in order to promote a deeper understanding of Italian contributions to art, literature, and music.

Several women have played prominent roles in the Italian Welfare Agency, the only social agency for Italians on the west coast. Women have held the position of executive director and have served on the board of directors. The present administrator is Sue Lesca. Claire Giannini Hoffman, a board member, has also been instrumental in developing a residence for older Italians in North Beach.

Another institution that was inspired by an Italian woman is the new University of California "Casa Italiana," a center for the study of Italian language and literature. The leader in this effort was Cecilia Ross, instructor in the Italian department at the university.

Many Italian American women have been active in ethnic organizations in San Francisco. Three have been president of the annual Columbus Day celebration: Dorothy Casper, Rose Fanucchi (an attorney), and Grace Duhagon. The president of the western regional chapter of the American Italian Historical Association is Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum.

Finally, The Italians of San Francisco, 1850-1930, the only published work on the local Italian community, was written by Deanna Paoli Gumina, a third-generation Italian American woman.

CURRENT EFFORTS TO PRESERVE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

Recently there has been a renaissance of interest in North Beach among Italian Americans and an attempt to preserve the ethnic heritage and to unite all Italian Americans. Evidence of this interest in preserving ethnic identity is the refurbishing of Italian restaurants, the establishment of a North Beach historical museum, and the planning of a retirement home for Italian Americans. Concurrently, the 1975 founding of the National Italian American Foundation, Inc. (NIAF), as an independent, nonprofit, nonpolitical, nonreligious organization, with its main office in Washington, D.C., marks the first attempt of Italian Americans to make their presence felt in the Nation's Capital by serving as an advocate of Italian American interests.

I have recently met with Edward Galletti, director of the board of NIAF, and with two other board members, James Scatena and William Armanino. These three are community leaders and the "renaissance men" of the Italian community of San Francisco, and they have been active in uniting the Italian American organizations and in renovating North Beach. These men, plus a number of other local Italian Americans, are contributing time, energy, and money to establish a retirement home for older Italians in San Francisco. The site is only one block from the Museo and faces on Washington Square and Ss. Peter and Paul's Church, an Italian "national" church and historical center of Italian activity in North Beach. The Museo plans to develop programs especially for these older Italians. Currently, we are working closely with the senior center at Ss. Peter and Paul's.

Messrs. Galletti, Scatena, and Armanino are enthusiastic about the Museo Italo Americano and have promised their full support and collaboration in making the Museo a vital part of San Francisco. The Museo itself is playing a unifying role in reviving a culture that has been such an integral force in Western civilization.

It seems that ethnicity, an intensified self-consciousness about origins, has arrived among Italian Americans, and these historical/social changes should help the Museo to play a vital role in the community. Response to the Museo from the community has been very encouraging, as shown by excerpts from an article by columnist and historian Kevin Starr that appeared in the San Francisco Examiner on September 12, 1978:

> The Museum should in its own quiet, effective way help interested San Franciscans not backward, but forward to a sense of this city's neo-Mediterranean roots. The values of that founding culture--humanism, a taste for public existence, a passion for The City as an imaginative ideal--must be repossessed if San Francisco is to develop into anything more than a mecca for affluent consumerists intent, not upon life in all its dazzling, bewildering variety, its heights of apprehension and sensation, its sloughs of despondency, its upward ascents of courageous renewal, but upon discrete movements of prepackaged sensations, known sometimes as (ugh!) lifestyle.
>
> Let the Museo Italo Americano remind San Franciscans of certain immemorial things—that art is long and life is brief; that The City is a work of art and a moral institution as well as a political battleground; that to live well in a public manner is the *sine qua non* of civilization.

CHANGING ROLES OF WOMEN: A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

On a personal level, this experience has been unique. In my interaction with the Italian community and the community-at-large, I became aware that I was involved in both a personal and a social process. Developing the museum has been a continuous, lively process of self-discovery. From a historical point of view, the condition of women has improved. The feminist movement taking place throughout the world, with all its variety of ideologies and cultural contributions, is actually responsible for many of the social changes.

The feminist movement in Italy is considered the strongest in the world today, yet there is a general lack of interest among Italian American women in the movement. One bay area scholar interviewed said:

> The Italian American woman was brought up to be a wife and a mother. Because woman's place was in the home, they had to fight their families to pursue further studies and careers. It was all right for their brothers to become a doctor, a lawyer, an architect, but they could only aspire to become a teacher![3]

That Italian American women no longer support this traditional female role model was reflected in papers presented at the 1977 American Italian Historical Association Conference, "The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America," held in Toronto, Canada. For the first time, Italian American women scholars met to share and discuss their research on a topic that is beginning to be socially recognized.

This year, the Archeoclub d'Italia in America sponsored a panel exploring the role of Italian women through the ages in celebration of the tercentenary of the doctorate of Elena Coranro Psicopia, the first woman to ever receive this degree. This, too, was a first. Meanwhile, over 40 institutions and organizations throughout the United States are planning Psicopia tercentenary events.

Finally, in trying to define my own role in the Italian community, I have encountered a number of Italian American women who, though highly educated, have not been able to fulfill their occupational needs in the usual ways. Because of either the tight job market or unfulfilling jobs, they have sought to find their place through ethnic organizational work. By contributing to the preservation of their ethnic heritage, they seem to be working out both their personal and occupational identities.

In summary, the challenges presented by the change in women's status and the need to preserve ethnic heritage require new institutions to fulfill new purposes. My hope is that San Francisco's Museo Italo Americano will be a catalyst in this process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There should be a focus on action research, i.e., demonstration programs concerned with the occupational aspirations of white ethnic women and with their interest in preserving their cultural heritages. Our society should provide more paid jobs in community organizations, ethnic studies programs, ethnic museums, and other such endeavors. Some specific topics in both action and basic research include:

- Comparative study of feminist movements in Italy and in the United States, emphasizing the participation of Italian American women

- Generational studies of traditional and contemporary roles of white ethnic women vis-a-vis family, education, and careers

- Studies of modern Italian American women, dealing with traditional roles, portrayal by media, and self-identity

- Occupational aspirations versus occupational opportunities for white ethnic women

- Evaluation of training and educational programs in relation to educational aspirations of white ethnic women

NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970. California: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1970. Note that the census term "foreign stock" refers to the first and second generations, i.e., the immigrants and their native-born children. Surveys of ethnic origin suggest that twice as many people consider themselves of Italian descent compared with foreign stock. (See Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, Characteristics of Population by Ethnic Origin.)

2. This description of the Italian American community is derived from Rose Scherini, "The Italian American Community of San Francisco: A Descriptive Study," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976. Rose Scherini is on the Museo Italo Americano's advisory council and has collaborated on this paper.

3. Scherini, op. cit.

THE STATUS OF EAST EUROPEAN WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: TRADITION AND CHANGE

Mary Ann Krickus

INTRODUCTION

Outside forces encroaching on the family roles and lifestyles of today's women are fairly universal (the economic crunch, the women's movement, higher levels of education, the decline of the extended family as a functional unit), but the notion that these forces have affected all women equally is mistaken. It is also fallacious to assume that women regard either their own lives or these outside phenomena in the same light no matter what their backgrounds. At first glance, this would seem to articulate the obvious, but in fact the literature and research on women, as on the family, are virtually one dimensional. Despite numerous books on both in recent years, we remain largely unenlightened about the lives of countless women and their families. This ignorance is rooted in the tendency of scholars, family specialists, leaders of the women's movement, and policymakers to speak of "the family" in terms of a nonexistent, or nominally existent, unit; the "modal" American family is Protestant and middle class, has two children and two cars, and is upwardly mobile. Similarly, there has been a tendency to view women as a monolithic group and assume that the term "women's changing roles" is applicable to all women in essentially the same way. What information is available on "nonmodal" women typically deals with "poor" and, synonymously, "minority" women, with "minority" being primarily defined as black, sometimes Hispanic, and least often Native American.

Women who differ from the accepted norm by virtue of ethnic background are usually ignored by the general public and in the literature by and about women. This is a critical oversight, since the way women regard their role in the family and their response to changing that role is influenced by their ethnic background. Giordano (1973) tells us, "The search for identity is a basic psychological need and ethnicity is a powerful and subtle influence in determining its shape and form." Isaacs (1964) believes that ethnicity transcends the need for a unique identity and is "fundamental to an individual's sense of belongingness and to the level of his self-esteem," while Gordon (1964) sees it as "having to do with a sense of peoplehood."

The relationship between ethnicity and family roles is of particular interest. According to McCready (1974), ". . . family styles differ from one culture to another. The appropriate behavior toward one's most intimate relations is specified and encoded in the cultural definition of the family. Basic identity and basic values are formed in the family at an early age."

In viewing ethnicity as a determinant in self-perception and interaction with others, this paper will present a survey of literature dealing with the traditional status of East European women in the family and how that status is changing. Two cautionary notes are in order regarding the term "East European." First, the lack of data has led to treating the various East European groups collectively even though they should be considered separately. When one group is singled out, it is usually the Poles, the largest East European group in the United States, while Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Ukrainians, and other groups are gathered under the all-inclusive term "Slavic." Also, it is often implied that all East Europeans are Slavs, although this is true of neither Hungarians nor Lithuanians. This paper includes information on Polish and other Slavic categories,[1] although not always to the same extent; it focuses disproportionately on Poles because of the availability of data. Second, those who refer to East Europeans often fail to differentiate between those who are part of the pre-World War I "second-wave" subculture and those who belong to the more highly educated and professional political emigré influx of the post-World War II period. This paper deals primarily with those who comprise and are descended from the earlier immigrant groups.

Before attempting to make statements or hypotheses about the status of East European women in contemporary U.S. families, however, it is necessary to turn briefly to another time and place. We cannot assess the current picture of these women without having some sense of their history, for it is this history which has helped define them, and only with this perspective is their present status meaningful.

WOMEN IN THE OLD COUNTRY

There is little information on the lives of East European women. Clearly, it was hard, often with a living eked out at the subsistence level. The following thumbnail sketch of an immigrant Slovenian woman around 1910 reflects the harsh conditions in the old country:

> In Allegheny a settlement friend went to see a neighbor and found her at nine o'clock barefoot in the yard hanging out clothes. She had borne a child at midnight, after which she had arisen and got breakfast for the men of her family and then done the washing. (Balch, 1910)

The picture of women's life in rural Poland, as opposed to East Europe generally, is somewhat more detailed. Lopata (1976) asserts that "girls never inherited property unless there were no sons to take it over and then the arrangement involved an 'adoption' of a son-in-law into the bride's family."[2] Therefore, the women's power in the family was low to begin with but increased with the birth of a son, since it was assumed that someday he would marry, younger women would be introduced into the family unit (Polish village society was patrilocal), and she would be relieved of most physical tasks and elevated to a "managerial" position.

Sokolowska (1977) makes a distinction between women in rural and urban settings. The picture she presents of 19th-century village families corresponds to Lopata's portrayal: "The main feature of such a traditional family within a backward rural economy was a subordination of its members to the interests of the family as a whole. The economic and social functions of a peasant family were supervised by the father, while the other members enjoyed only a narrow scope of independence." However, she describes urban women as departing radically from this pattern:

> In a working-class family, there was much more individualism and egalitarianism. . . . As an economic unit, it belonged to a different type too: the husband-father was not the manager of a family enterprise, and the household as a unit of consumption was administered by the wife-mother. The man was usually the only official source of the family's income, but as unemployment increased women frequently supported the whole household.

Family structure and custom undoubtedly varied by area and, within villages, by socioeconomic status. Whatever leverage the wife brought with her, it seems clear that for rural women the subsistence village economy, the fundamental importance of the family and its land, and the wife's central position in this structure gave her considerable power, just as earning ability gave power to urban women. In addition, Sokolowska (1977) tells us:

> For over 120 years prior to the end of World War I, Poland did not exist on the map of Europe. During this period the family remained the main national institution and the "fortress" of the national spirit. . . . Oppression and hostility toward the oppressors made for a strong family bond. . . . The guiding spirit [during all this time] was the women. Even though their formal scope within the patriarchal pattern was limited to the household, their actual tasks and functions were of particular importance under the specific conditions prevailing in Poland.

Thus, although the traditional Polish family carefully circumscribed women's activities and social relations, within the home the role of the Polish wife seems to have carried with it power that was not only extended but solidified after immigration. In village society, an additional element of women's power appears to have derived from the critical nature of their participation in "status competition."

An extremely significant factor in the lifestyle, values, and status of Polish women was the all-pervasive social importance of family status. The crucial nature of one's family status in comparison with other families generated a complex competition that was the hallmark of village life. "All life [in the village] was flavored by the status competition. Marriage was not a matter of love but an arrangement guaranteeing the best status and economic position for the new unit" (Lopata, 1976).

Status was measured primarily by two things: material holdings (mostly land) and traditional roles. Thus, the wife's central role in tilling and maintaining the family land (and, in some cases, bringing additional land at marriage), as well as her strict observance of the traditional role prescribed for Polish women were essential to sustaining her family's status.

It was an explicit responsibility of every member of the family to contribute to this status: "To the extent that each member was locked into the village and could not 'make it on his own,' and to the extent to which daily life and exceptional events were very public, family solidarity, found to be a basic characteristic of the peasant social system, was a vital necessity" (Lopata, 1976). Everyone in the family had to earn his or her membership and continue earning it throughout life. This has caused a number of observers to conclude that the Polish family was as

74

much concerned with economic status, stability, and "face" as with love or emotional support. Women, therefore, had good reason to see themselves as being as much "partner in a public venture" as "nurturer," the role to which Italian women, for example, were largely limited.

IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Balch (1910) felt that even though Slavic women suffered sharper pangs of homesickness than did the men, they nevertheless improved their status in America. She was told, "In Croatia wives warn their husbands that in America things will be different, for women have more power there," which expresses a "widespread and wonderful legend" about the position of women in America. Balch maintained that in America men did indeed show more respect for women and acquired "gentler manners." They also adopted the American working-class husband's custom of allowing the wife to manage the family finances.

Lopata (1976) depicts Polish women as gaining power in the family after immigration for a number of reasons:

- Even if they themselves did not emigrate, the departure of their menfolk made them heads of households.
- Once in America, the same situation occurred when men left for better jobs in other cities.
- In America, the jobs that the men could get usually required long hours of work, 6 and even 7 days a week, so the children had very little contact with their fathers.
- Probably most important, the patrilocal living arrangements in Poland had required the wife to leave her family and move into or near her husband's home. The grueling trip to America was costly, but offered her perhaps unexpected compensation: she was freed from in-laws and could immediately establish and supervise her own home.

Whether the East European women enlarged their horizons outside the home is debatable. Lopata (1976) adheres to the view that "young Polish girls were supposed to stay home, help their mothers take care of younger children, and do housekeeping rather than 'wasting' their time in any but primary parochial education." For the young women, married and unmarried, who migrated during this period, the preferred occupations were those that kept them near their homes or their countrymen. Married women could run boardinghouses or help their husbands manage the family business, since this allowed them to contribute to the family's income and still be home with children. Taking in boarders was particularly popular among all the Slavic immigrant groups, and the boarder population was constantly replenished by new immigrants. Unmarried girls frequently went into domestic service; it was a safe occupation, and Poles felt that these girls would be chosen as wives over girls who had worked in a factory because they presumably would be better housewives. In 1910, the census showed that, among Slavic women whose parents were from Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, 145,292 were employed, 36,000 as servants and waitresses (Balch, 1910).

Lopata (1976) states that the sex role definitions of traditional Polonia "rejected the idea of women leaving home and community social control for education or work experience even at the cost of decreasing the economic contribution they could make to the family." It was acceptable for Slavic women to work as servant girls and "boarding bosses," but they were "infinitely more important as homemaker(s), helping to set the family standard of living" (Balch, 1910).

This might have been the Polish ideal, but Krickus (1976) says that in practice it was often necessary for Polish women (the wife and older daughters) to seek outside employment. "While wages in the United States were higher than in Europe, few men enjoyed stable job situations or earned sufficient money to take care of the family's needs." Therefore, the immigrant Polish women were a "vital economic asset" and, even where tradition militated against it, if they could not supplement the family coffers by doing "home work" (taking in boarders, for instance), they went to work outside. In fact, it was often the case that after immigration everyone except small children and the very old worked; it was economically necessary. It was not unusual to see entire families laboring together in packinghouses or loaded on wagons destined for farms and orchards during the picking season (Garrett, 1904).

Golab (unpublished paper, no date) asserts that most Polish women worked and that the decision of where the immigrant family would live was based on the availability of jobs for both sexes. Philadelphia, for example, was not an especially attractive city for Polish immigrants because even though women could find employment in the needle trades there, Polish men disdained this "women's work," and there were few opportunities for the unskilled physical labor they sought (Golab, 1977).

The critical nature of the peasant wife's contribution to the household and the fact that many urban women in Poland had had to seek employment indicates that immigrant women were prepared to work and that there was no contradiction between work and family. Immigrant women were not seeking self-actualization; they worked because it improved the family's standard of living.

This emphasis on family obligations undoubtedly reflected an acceptance of the "woman's place," but it also reflected the significance that East Europeans attached to homeownership and, by extension, to the homemaker. "In spite of the recency of their arrival and the presence of a large number of persons who did not even speak English . . . [they] rapidly acquired home ownership. . . ." (Lopata, 1976). Balch (1910) described the Slavic desire to own a home as "widespread and intense"; this perception is shared by Capek (1920) and by Prpic (1971), who quotes an old Croatian saying, "Moja Kucica, moja slobodica," which is the rough equivalent of "My home is my castle." He attributes this feeling partly to the fact that "their homes are in effect transplanted miniatures of their homeland." Wrobel (1973) writes of his childhood home as being "a place for the nuclear family, a kind of private place that deserved to be kept spotlessly clean and tidy. . . . I mention the cleanliness of the home only because it seems to be an important element of Polish-American culture. The home is like a shrine and disorder and uncleanliness are seen as disrespectful."

This value and love of home provided East European women with considerable power, for they became the highest authority on all domestic matters. Indeed, Elena Bardunas, in interviews with Lithuanian immigrant and second-generation wives of Pennsylvania miners, found that even though the husbands may have been domineering, committed to extremely sex-segregated marital roles, and even physically aggressive, the wives managed the money and had unquestioned power in making even the most critical family economic decisions.

Similar patterns were found among Polish Americans in a Hamtramck, Mich., study in the 1950's (Wood, 1955; Lopata, 1976). In the case of Polish women, there may have been another dimension, that of status competition. Since status was synonymous with owning a home as the evidence of "achievement," the Polish woman as homemaker, the person who could maximize the status of the home or bring shame on the family, had an added degree of power.

PRESENT STATUS OF EAST EUROPEAN WOMEN

Determining the present status of East European women is difficult because of the lack of data. It has already been noted that those who write about women or the American family tend to perceive a universal, all-purpose, and, by definition, nonethnic model for each. Looking for specific information on ethnic women yields depressingly little. However, by using data on women per se and by extrapolating from data on East Europeans, it is possible to construct a profile of East European women.

Factors That Reinforce the Traditional Role

Education. Most observers agree that Poles traditionally left intellectual matters to the intelligentsia and the nobility, not the ordinary working people.[3] This sanction, deeply embedded in the Polish psyche, applied even more strictly to women than men. Furthermore, since Poles (and other East Europeans) usually needed the income of as many members of the family as possible, schooling was regarded as an economic liability. Education was also feared as a source of intergenerational differences that could lead the younger, more educated members away from "their own."

Consequently, even with the increased opportunity for schooling in America, "few Polish-Americans of the 'second wave' even finished high school, let alone entered college, the women being even less encouraged . . . than the men" (Lopata, 1976). What education there was took place exclusively in parochial schools, partly because of religious convictions and partly because of the nuns' strict discipline. Polish Americans in Buffalo, N.Y., in the 1960's were still firmly convinced that parish schools provided a better education than public schools (Obidinski, 1968; Lopata, 1976).

As for higher education, Greeley (1974) reported that "among the English-speaking white Gentiles, the Polish [were] the least likely to have gone to college (15%), followed by the Slavic group[4] (16%), and the Italians (17%)." Young Poles and Slavs in their 20's fared much better than older generations. They were slightly above the mean educational level in the country. However, the recorded mean was only 10.9 years of schooling.

By 1977, when Greeley's findings about the academic direction of Poles and Slavs included data on their mobility as well as their absolute achievement, the picture was brighter. They were definitely upward bound. Polish and Italian groups (with 49 and 45 percent, respectively) had surpassed the national average (43 percent) in college attendance, and Slavs (with 42 percent) were just below. These advances, which have accelerated sharply since 1940, indicate that Poles and other Slavs are emphasizing education more, a theory with which Lopata (1976) concurs. However, this does not necessarily mean a quick or general movement into the ranks of college-educated professionals, particularly for women.

The Buffalo study of the 1960's revealed that, for many Poles, "negative attitudes attached to education for girls (were) still dominant . . . among the lower class members . . . and not absent among those he identified as of the upper class" (Obidinski, 1968; Lopata, 1976). Wrobel (1975) found similar "they'll just get married" views in Detroit as late as the mid-1970's.

Moreover, Greeley's data on the upward educational mobility of Poles and other Slavs do not indicate whether these young men or women attended 2-year community colleges or enrolled in B.A. programs, or whether they completed their degrees. Sandberg (1974) notes that "despite the upward educational mobility . . . of Polish-Americans generationally, the great majority have a limited education." He contends that 70.2 percent have not received a college degree.

Finally, Lopata (1976) hypothesizes that apparent improvements in educational achievement statistics have been "assisted by the new emigrants (DP's) who, unlike most other immigrants to America, came with a higher and more diversified socioeconomic background." In a more positive vein, however, she suggests that their influence may prod other young people in their ethnic groups to seek out education as a means of upward mobility. The overall picture warrants caution about the extent or speed of increased education, particularly for women. But higher education for East European groups is definitely on the rise, and this will ultimately affect the goals, self-perceptions, and attitudes of both men and women.

Occupation. Incomes for East Europeans are rising at a faster rate than for many groups; Poles and Slavs earn more than do other Americans with the same educational background (Greeley, 1977). However, they still are predominantly skilled or craftworkers, and their incomes are below the national average for owners, managers, or professionals. On a national average, Poles over 40 years old earn 10 percent less than northern white urban males in white-collar jobs; those under 40 earn 2 percent less. This is an improvement, but indicates that East Europeans are still largely blue-collar workers.

Based on 1971 census data, the percentage of Polish American women aged 16 and over in the labor force is lower (37.9 percent) than the national figure for all women (44 percent). Polish American workingwomen presently reflect a lack of formal education: 16 percent are in service occupations, 36 percent are in clerical jobs, 19 percent work as operatives, and 13 percent are in professional occupations (Lopata, 1976). For American workingwomen as a whole, 80 percent are blue- or pink-collar workers, while 20 percent are in the white-collar ranks. These figures suggest that in many families women continue to derive satisfaction and respect from being homemakers, even if they must work for economic reasons, and that there is a preponderance of such women in the East European subculture.

Role of Women in the Family. Many students of Slavic culture have depicted the family structure as male dominated. On a personality measure developed by the National Institute of Mental Health, Slavic Catholics^5 scored high on authority and valued discipline, control, obedience, and good manners for their children more than other Catholic groups and more than most Protestants (Greeley, 1977). Lopata (1976) cites "the traditional authority of the male parent as a recorded part of Polonian family culture. . . . Children were always expected to obey without question and to continually contribute to the family welfare."

McCready (1974) agrees, basing the power of the father as patriarch on his ability to provide economically for his family. Even in cases where immigration noticeably lessened economic leverage, McCready contends that many fathers managed to maintain control by claiming that they needed family concern because immigration had dealt them the harshest blow. Elaborating on the extent to which the family was, and is, father centered, McCready found in the 1970's that Polish children in his sample, especially daughters, received their values from their fathers rather than their mothers. They rated themselves high on domestic skills and sex appeal and felt they were attractive, competent women because their fathers told them so.

On the other hand, Wrobel (1975) discerned a heavy emphasis on strict discipline among the working-class Poles he studied in Detroit, but perceived it as a joint parental effort rather than as emanating from the father alone. He concluded that this emphasis stems from a concern for "the children's future" and a desire to make certain that a life where "men and women exist not as individuals . . . but as mothers and fathers whose primary responsibility is sacrificing for the sake of their children" is worth it. Even in cases where the father is the excessively strict disciplinarian pictured by Lopata, Wrobel contends that he "lacks clout if the mother challenges this discipline." One teenage boy told him, " Pa listens to Ma or else he'll be the one who's in trouble."

The authority of the mother in the home extends to the parish and community, where she is seen as "representing the family in matters concerning the children" (Wrobel, 1975). As a teacher in the parish school, Wrobel unfailingly talked to the mother even if he requested the father: "Talk to the old lady, the kids don't listen to me anyhow. . . . My job is to bring home the bacon--she takes care of the rest." Wrobel saw the authority of the mother as stemming in large part from the men's negative self-image.

The men he studied viewed themselves as "unintelligent factory workers unworthy of respect and incapable of accomplishing anything worthwhile except supporting a family through hard work and the ability to sacrifice." Their dissatisfaction with themselves was indicated by their lack of interest in discussing their jobs: "Me?. . . I just work in a factory. Nothing special." The feeling that other people do not respect them is transmitted to their children, and their sons "ultimately lose respect for them for failing to rise above work they despise and begin to turn to their mother for advice and emotional support, feeling she is the stronger of the two" (Wrobel, 1975).

Whether the Lopata/McCready or the Wrobel school is closer to the mark regarding the exact leverage enjoyed by women, the overriding importance of home, family, and motherhood is not disputed. Home is seen as "a world of our own. . . . After all, just how important are other people? It's family that counts" (Wrobel, 1975). In describing the qualities a wife should possess, Wrobel's interviewees invariably stressed the importance of choosing a wife who was "interested in family life and capable of being a good mother." As one man put it, "You gotta like the girl, but the real question is what she's like at home. . . . She should come from a decent family. . . . If her mother was a complainer, she'll be a complainer. If her mother mistreated the kids, she'll mistreat the kids."

On the other hand, the women looked for a husband who would be a good provider. "Give me a guy who loves to work and everything else will take care of itself" (Wrobel, 1975). Thus, they implicitly assigned themselves the home role, and visiting was kept to a minimum:

> We're too busy to waste our time on useless chit-chat when we have dishes to wash, floors to wax, and meals to prepare. . . . This [keeping to oneself] is the way it should be, because we all have families and taking care of our families is a 24-hour job . . . we talk when we meet but we're careful to not interrupt one another's housework or be bothersome. (Wrobel, 1975)

This attitude not only reflects pride, but illustrates a reluctance to defy the culturally defined norms about how a woman should spend her time. The fear of inviting criticism or gossip that Wrobel detected among his sample supports Lopata's contention that status competition still abounds in Polonia. It is so much a part of life with the Detroit respondents that it has kept the women from becoming close friends even in cases where they have voiced the desire to do so. It's just too risky.

The available evidence indicates that the combination of inner values, outside sanctions and rewards, as well as low educational and occupational credentials minimizes the incentive of most East European women to climb aboard the liberation bandwagon. Moreover, many know all too well that at the end of the workday, their husbands often feel, as Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski once put it, "as used as the machines they operate," an insight ill designed to nourish envy.

In the home women have power and status. Although women with a different world view might define this as inherently nonpowerful and nonstatus granting, these women do not. A housewife from Brooklyn said, "I like domestic life. I work only to add to my community. I'm more of a professional at home than in the working world--I'm a psychologist, a teacher, a counselor, a nurse, even a referee. Being a wife and mother covers a variety of professions even if you don't have the degree" (Bohan, 1978).

It is not only older women who have this traditional orientation; the emphasis of later generations on home ownership (Krause, 1978) and maintenance (Wrobel, 1975) has not appreciably abated. A questionnaire distributed by the National Congress of Neighborhood Women on attitudes toward housework, childcare, and other aspects of domesticity demonstrates change, but not radical departure. Although members of the youngest generation proclaim that they are not "married to a house," they add that they try to consider their husbands' jobs, which often involve shifts and overtime, when asking for help around the house (Noschese, 1978). But even though these younger East Europeans are predominantly working class and tend to adopt traditional lifestyles, they are beginning to reevaluate and change their roles.

Factors That Encourage Change

Fertility Rates and Church Attendance. Although fertility rates have declined, reflecting general trends, Lopata (1976) stated that in 1969, the rate for Polish women was well below the average. Greeley (1977) puts it close (2.3) to the national mean (2.4) and found that other Slavic groups were barely over the average (2.5). The lower Polish birth rate would seem to agree with Sandberg's (1974) contention that Polish identity with the Catholic Church has also declined; for those who do identify with the Church, it appears to be parochial education for the children more than other aspects which remain important.

In a study of three generations of Italian, Jewish, and Slavic[6] women in Pittsburgh, Krause found declining birth rates: the average number of children for the grandmothers was 4.1; for the mothers, 3.2; and for the daughters, 1.9[7] (Krause, 1978). However, while the birth rate had declined for all three ethnic groups, the Slavic women approved of birth control somewhat less than Italians or Jews. The birth rate for the youngest Slavic women had dropped slightly less than for the others, which may be related to the fact that the Slavic women also had the highest church attendance of this generation. Most of the Slavic and Italian women disapproved of abortion, but tempered this judgment with qualifications: "I wouldn't have an abortion, but it's up to the individual" (Krause, 1978).

Educational and Occupational Mobility. As we have seen, educational and occupational opportunities are increasing for the youngest generation. Krause found that attitudes are changing. "A definite change over generations of all three groups studied from traditional to more feminist attitudes is demonstrated" (Krause, 1978). Fewer Slavic than Italian or even Jewish women felt that "women do best as wives and mothers." Very few Slavic participants considered women too emotional for some jobs; their score was far closer to that of the Jewish than the Italian women.

In the Krause study, an overwhelming majority (91.7 percent) said that men and women should have equal job opportunities. The entire sample demonstrated increasing approval over the generations for careers for women, women in high positions, working for a woman, and the idea of a woman President of the United States. Krause also noted the significance of an increasing number of women who mentioned their own achievement as a source of personal satisfaction.

Krause cautions against generalizing too much from her sample of Pittsburgh women. However, since these women represent mobile segments of their ethnic groups, and since many of the granddaughters had attended or were in college, her findings of rising expectations may apply to other East European women in similar situations.

Rising Expectations from Marriage. Rising expectations are not limited to jobs. According to Krause's data, "the feminist movement and greater equality for women in American society have contributed to dramatic change in attitudes toward male/female roles." Not one of the third-generation Slavic women, for example, felt that husbands should do no housework. Bennett (1976) also found female interviewees who pointed out that there are often

> . . . major differences between men and women among their own ethnic [South Slavic] group in their attitudes toward the role of women in the home and in the society . . . the men tend to be more traditional in this respect than the women . . . making it all the more difficult for women with professional careers who would perhaps like to marry within their own ethnic group.

The women Bennett studied are of the post-World War II subculture, which is not technically the subject of this paper, but her findings on upwardly mobile young Slavic women are pertinent.

As the upwardly mobile women of the youngest East European generation expand their horizons, they may begin to question some of the fundamental elements of marriage: companionship, sharing, and communication. Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that 48 percent of the middle-class Detroit wives they studied "chose companionship in doing things together with their husbands as the most valuable aspect of marriage." In fact, they found that recreation ranked second as a source of marital disagreement. This view of marriage is likely to become increasingly important to young Slavic wives, especially those who have jobs and therefore enjoy an added topic of conversation.

Sexual relationships may also undergo changes. Nye and Berardo (1973) assert that "86% of middle-class wives expressed a positive feeling toward marital intercourse compared with 69% for the upper-lower class and 46% for the lower-lower. . . ." They also contend that "the proportion of women who achieve orgasm during intercourse increases with each increase in education level of the wife. . . . Likewise, wives from white-collar homes are more likely to experience orgasm than those from laboring occupations." They also note that in Kinsey's "devout Catholic" sample, a smaller proportion of wives at all ages reached orgasm (probably to some degree because they feared getting pregnant). The youngest generation of East European women, while still more religious than some other groups, exhibit decreasing church attendance and increasing use of birth control; this, together with broader educational and occupational horizons, will likely affect their sexual attitudes and demands.

Greater expectations from marriage among East European women will undoubtedly produce some stronger, more equitable relationships, but they may also lead to a higher divorce rate. At present, Lopata (1976) reports a lower divorce rate for Poles than for the population as a whole (about one-third of all marriages end in divorce). She offers a number of reasons for this: adherence to Polish Catholicism; emphasis on the family as a controlling mechanism (in agreement with Wrobel's 1975 findings); and status competition, which views divorce as bringing shame on self and family.

This last reason poses an interesting question. What will happen as young Polish women continue acquiring the means to succeed outside the home? Will they be willing, for example, to test the status competition structure by adding "professional excellence" as an acceptable way to augment family and personal status? Or will they confront this structure by seeking a divorce when their expectations from marriage are not met? Will the framework of status competition be able to accommodate such change, or will it begin to break down?

Lopata's theories about the low Polish divorce rate are supported by Wrobel's Detroit sample (1975) of Polish Americans, who generally viewed marriage as something you are "in for life." These theories are interesting in the context of Alba's (1978) view that "attitudes toward divorce and contraception vary by ethnicity."

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

East European women still have a strong sense of ethnic identity. They cook ethnic foods, celebrate holidays in the traditional ways, choose husbands of the same cultural background, though less often than formerly (Abramson, 1973), and choose friends of the same background. Even as they move more and more into the mainstream of American society, Polish American women are seen by Lopata (1976) as retaining vestiges of Polish folk culture and immigrant background. Krause (1978) feels that for all ethnic women, the influence of ethnicity in early experiences, as well as old ethnic values and mores, affects their perceptions of marriage, childbirth, menstruation, motherhood, and all other aspects of their lives.

Nevertheless, any discussion of the ethnically related features of East European women's lives must center on their continued commitment to the family, for this commitment is deeply embedded.[8] They stress the family as a unit rather than a collection of individual needs. This involves mutual love and trust, but it transcends that: it is a bond incorporating reciprocal caring and responsibility, appreciation, and respect. It is perceived as a fact of life, part and parcel of their existence.

The following are some comments, offered by women of Slavic heritage who attended a 1978 Conference on Cultural Diversity Among American Families,[9] that describe the strengths of families from their ethnic backgrounds: "the cohesiveness and influence of the family"; "the value of the family as a unit"; "the allegiance to and support of family members"; "the reliability and loyalty of the family." The conference women also attested to differences between other American families and their own in: "the value placed on a tightknit extended family"; "the roles assigned to and consequent expectations of family members"; "adaptation to changes occurring in family structure" (Conference on Cultural Diversity Among American Families, 1978).

Continued family centeredness provides certain obvious benefits: a sense of self and of heritage; a known place in the scheme of things; and a set of values. But family commitment, coupled with the need or desire for a job or other outside pursuits, leads women almost inevitably into conflict, either within themselves or with other family members. The strength of family commitment among even the youngest East European women in Krause's upwardly mobile sample suggests that her young women and others like them, tradition oriented but upwardly mobile, may face trouble as they try to balance family with expanding horizons, growing self-expectations, and stronger feminism.

. Like most women, they would prefer not to be forced to choose, but in answer to the question, "Which do you believe is more important, marriage or a career?," Krause's sample conclusively chose marriage. Among the youngest women, 80 percent thought marriage more important. Significantly, women in all three generations disapproved of mothers working when they have young children at home; even among the youngest generation, only 14.5 percent approved. In this category, Slavic (and Italian) women were less than half as likely to approve as Jewish women.

Somewhat surprisingly, among those who unconditionally approved careers, Slavic women in all three generations had the highest proportion (Krause, 1978). It would appear that Slavic women are becoming more willing to choose career over marriage, but that once having chosen marriage they remain firmly committed to the importance of home and family and their role in it.

An important consequence of the centrality of the family for East European women is that it often causes a turning inward to solve problems for which other groups may seek professional help. In the case of marital difficulties, for instance, Wrobel (1975) found "the general belief is that it is best to suffer through [traumatic marital experiences] rather than seek professional help." Men and women alike described marriage as "hard work." One woman told him, "Be ready for anything. That's what makes a successful marriage."

In Krause's sample, the Slavic women were the least likely to report emotional problems or seek mental health care. She poses the question of whether they experience less psychological distress than other women or whether they deny the existence of emotional difficulties. In the case of her Polish women at least, the importance of family status, which would preclude "airing one's problems," suggests the latter.

East Europeans generally do not confide their problems to "outsiders." Respondents to the family diversity conference questionnaire attested to differences between their families and others in "methods of handling crises in the family" and in "utilization of available community resources" (Conference on Cultural Diversity Among American Families, 1978).

The Giordanos (1977) cite Mostwin's list of reservations that various East European groups typically exhibit in this situation:

- CZECHOSLOVAKIANS--STRANGERS ADMITTED WITH RESERVATION. The family will ask for services; however, a standardized approach will be found offensive.

- ESTONIANS--STRANGERS ADMITTED WITH GREAT RESERVATION. Asking for help will be delayed. A mental health problem is viewed as degrading. Prefer worker should know the language and facts about Estonia.

- HUNGARIANS--PREFER NOT TO ADMIT STRANGERS. The family prefers to solve problems at home. If they perceive care to be definitely needed, it will be requested. The worker should be sensitive to the cultural differences.

- POLISH--RELUCTANT TO EXPOSE OWN WEAKNESS TO STRANGERS. The family will not seek help on their own initiative except in an emergency and then reluctantly. The worker should be respectful, should be introduced by a trustworthy person, and be clear about services.

- UKRAINIANS--DO NOT TRUST STRANGERS. The family would rather "starve" than seek help. If in need, they will first consult the priest or a person of Ukrainian background. Prefer that worker speak the language, be of Slavic background and be very formal, using Mrs., Miss, and Mr. rather than first names.

- LITHUANIANS--FEAR AND MISTRUST OF STRANGERS. They will not ask for help. They feel it is shameful to accept charity and insulting to be offered advice. Lithuanians have strong ties, and outsiders are not admitted to this closed circle.

They also note Fandetti's finding that working-class Italians and Poles prefer to rely on traditional structures (the family, the Church, and, to a lesser extent, voluntary organizations) in dealing with childcare, care of the aged, financial aid, and personal problems. Indeed, white ethnic respondents in their study failed to identify mental health specialists as potential sources of help.

The tendency not to seek outside help places considerable stress on the mother. When the family itself tries to help members who may have problems such as physical or emotional disorders, behavior problems, alcohol or drug addiction, or learning disabilities, it is the mother who usually must deal with the problem. This responsibility creates a physical and emotional drain on the mother. It is especially frustrating because the mother has no special training in these areas.

The issue of the extended family is a Pandora's box. There are those who argue that the extended family is not declining; it never existed (Bane, 1976). It may not have existed in this country to the same degree as in European peasant society, but even in the absence of the physical sharing of a home, the extended family as a source of support and camaraderie is a strong cultural value. The question properly centers more on the state of the extended family today: how much it has declined; what that means; and whether the extended family is still viable.

Wrobel (1975) suggests that answers to these questions depend on the immigrant generation, the family's stage of development, and general accessibility. The post-World War II group in his Detroit sample (which he considered separately, and which has not been cited previously in this paper) remains intimate. Ties are stronger in young second- or third-generation families with preschool children than in families with older children, and these ties tend to remain closer over the years if the generations are all in the same parish.

Caring and responsibility among daughters, mothers, and grandmothers characterized Krause's (1978) respondents. There was frequent and regular visiting, especially among the Slavs and Italians. Their relationships were not without conflict, but they were vital and active, reflecting both love and mutual obligation. Krause, like Wrobel, cautions that there is a built-in bias for closeness since the interviewing required physical proximity among the generations. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that when physical proximity allows, Krause's sample takes advantage of it for frequent interaction despite growing differences in experience and attitudes.

Obidinski's work also suggests that "the ties that bind" can survive differences in world view and lifestyle; they will not be unscathed, but they should not be lightly written off as merely an influence in the lives of East Europeans. The Polish American community in Buffalo that he studied contained upwardly mobile second, third, and later generations who exhibited continued religious and family interaction bridging class differences (Obidinski, 1968; see also Lopata, 1976). Greeley (1974, 1977) also has found that interaction and visiting persist despite changes in class, income, education, or distance. Nonetheless, there are undeniable factors that make extended family ties increasingly difficult to maintain, including the geographical distance associated with occupational mobility and/or the lure of suburbia, and the decreasing amount of time available to those who become progressively involved in nonfamily pursuits.

For the youngest generation, there is often not only increasing distance but decreasing free time as many balance families and jobs. This presents a twofold problem: as they interact less with older generations, they may experience a sense of pain and guilt; at the same time, they are denied family services such as childcare, and old emotional supports fade. Roles such as counselor or mentor are no longer so easily performed by mothers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts, and cousins. This is one reason given for the greater demands made on middle-class husbands (and wives) to fulfill this "stroking" function.

Unfortunately, it is the women of the middle generation who are most affected by the erosion of the extended family as a functional, reciprocal unit. Not only are they the primary sources of support for their parents, but they feel a responsibility for continuing to meet as many of their daughters' needs as possible. This is true whatever the status of the extended family, but these obligations are clearly made more difficult when increasing distance and decreasing time are added dimensions. Failure to meet their obligations undoubtedly causes anxiety for the majority of East European women of this generation. For Polish women in particular, because of the status competition in the community, it could be quite demeaning to "fail the family."

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Public policies and programs must become much more attuned to diversity among American women and more sensitive to the numerous family systems this diversity has generated.

The Women's Movement

The current women's liberation movement is one of the most significant phenomena of this century, on a par with the civil rights movement of the 1960's and the labor movement of the 1930's. There is no doubt that it has touched virtually every woman in the country.

Since it has been defined by women from a relatively privileged and even elitist world that has given them little understanding of other milieus, there developed a wide gap between them and many of the women for whom they presumed to speak. With their education, leisure time, and affluence, it is understandable that the movement should have evolved through their efforts. It enabled them to take positions generally regarded not too long ago as "eccentric." Although our egalitarian society did not protect early movement leaders from disapproval by virtue of class, it did provide them the opportunity to gather in selective colleges and universities to identify and confront male oppression (Riesman, 1978). An unfortunate consequence of this rather exclusive arena was a new kind of conformity. "Any woman so square and old-fashioned as to admit publicly that she would like to be married, have children, and have occasional jobs rather than a career was likely to be scorned, if not ostracized" (Riesman, 1978).

Rhetoric of this threatening and demeaning nature has subsided over the years, but the attitude persists. This attitude holds the "housewife mentality" in low esteem despite formal and public endorsement of "the family" as an ideological construct and thereby denies traditional women, like those discussed here, their fair share of benefit from the movement, while simultaneously denying the energy and creativity of many potential supporters.

The fact that this lack of consensus revolves around the issue of family is noteworthy because it is women's role in the family that symbolizes to movement leaders all the traditional restraints that have kept women back. The suspicion created by this difference in world views is felt most by the older generations of East European (and other ethnic) women. Yet for younger ones still living in blue-collar environments, it still remains an issue. Even those young women who have moved beyond the old roles understand and value domestic roles and, more importantly, tradition itself. These bonds put them at loggerheads with those who would carelessly denigrate such ideals. Education and the ability to succeed outside the family by no means mitigate feelings that one's group is not viewed favorably or fairly.

The women's movement has for too long assumed a homogeneity among women, at least in terms of their goals, which simply does not exist. Its leaders have too often assumed that granting any legitimacy to traditional views or to the very real conflict between traditions and rising expectations is tantamount to shunting all women back to the kitchen. Both economics and heightened feminist consciousness have obliterated a world where women shuttle unquestioningly between kitchen, bedroom, and nursery. This is not, however, the same as saying there are no longer any women who prefer, and are better equipped for, working in their homes. It is crucial that movement leaders review their philosophy, as well as their agenda, to reconsider where they are going in the future and with whom. Justice for the many women they have excluded demands it; the viability of their fight for a fairer society requires it; and the fact that they are seen by countless public and private officials and policymakers as speaking for all women makes it incumbent upon them.

Social Services

Social services is another area where those involved must become more aware of how diversity affects whether people use available services; how these services must be tailored to fit different groups; and the potential problems that might require seeking such services.

As discussed above, East Europeans are loath to seek outside help. They are so reluctant, in fact, that Krause warns, when a Slavic woman calls, listen, because the problem has reached serious proportions. Those who deal with these women must always bear in mind their hesitancy to share personal problems with nonfamily members and the loss of status and self-esteem they suffer from what they perceive as an inability to cope with their traumas.

In addition to being insensitive, agencies often do not offer services appropriate to much of the target group, nor are these services attractive enough to offset the group's reluctance to use them. Krause (1978), for example, found that her sample of elderly Slavic women exhibited an inordinate attachment to their own home. This is in agreement with what other students of East Europeans report about extreme pride in the home.

Given this attitude, homes or apartments for senior citizens would likely be anathema to Slavic women. On the other hand, programs such as visiting nurses, traveling libraries, homemaking and meals projects, or escort services in neighborhoods where crime is high might, if properly presented, evoke interest.

Slovak American emphasis on fighting rather than succumbing to illness (Stein, 1973, 1976; Giordano and Giordano, 1977) also indicates extraordinary antipathy to nursing homes. If one does become necessary, the nursing home staff must be extremely sensitive to the pain that the woman feels in leaving her own home.

Ideally, social services should be administered by members of the ethnic group; barring this, agency personnel must be careful to work through proper channels. Mostwin (1966) advises social workers to be introduced by a trusted person rather than trying to penetrate the inner circles of the community (see also Giordano and Giordano, 1977).

Even though there is no definitive evidence of the ill effects of working mothers on small children, many women go off to work every day with nagging doubts. It may be that they are the victims of "brainwashing," as contended by those who remind us that the "ideal, stay-at-home" mother has existed only rarely in reality.[10] But such mothers have no sure guidelines for their own individual situations, and the result of this uncertainty is anxiety. Feld (1963) has found that "employed mothers show more self-acceptance and fewer physical symptoms of distress; but . . . more frequent doubts concerning their adequacy as mothers" and wives.

Because even the best educated and most upwardly mobile East European women have internalized traditional values, they may experience anxiety and internal conflict as their need for achievement confronts their commitment to their children. Moreover, when couples disagree about the "proper" role of the wife and mother, marital strife often becomes the order of the day and, as women's economic and psychological leverage grows, so does the feasibility of divorce as a solution.

Social service agencies may have to treat an increasing number of women from this subculture who have emotional difficulties. The women may be troubled by inner conflict, marital strife, or divorce precipitated by career mobility or the need to enter the labor force. Agency personnel must be attuned to the reluctance with which these women are likely to seek professional help and to their severe sense of "failure" for not coping, a sense that may be even more poignant than for other women. They must also remember that antipathy to outside help often will preclude these women from seeking help at all.

An ongoing effort to anticipate family and parental problems in the community should be underpinned by a close, efficient working relationship with schools, scouts, and other children's organizations. Very often a child who is recognized as having emotional, learning, or other difficulties is living in an environment where parental problems are pronounced and family counseling is imperative.

Generational conflicts, at work in any family, may be more significant in East European ones, where the persistence of traditional views among older members makes understanding of modern values particularly difficult. These special circumstances should be remembered when counsel is sought or recommended to alleviate the anger, guilt, and frustration felt by all family members.

Grassroots social service programs, like those described in other papers of this volume, which are designed, based, and implemented in and by the community, offer an exciting option for women who are loathe to turn to "strangers"; who, as the primary consumers of such services, know best what is needed in their neighborhoods; and who view working for their communities as a logical extension of working for their families.

Alternative Work Arrangements

The need for flexible working arrangements is hardly limited to East European women, but the continued importance of family to their sense of well-being is likely to make such options especially attractive to them.

On-the-job childcare has not always proved successful (few experiments consistently do), and it is the target of numerous "it is economically unfeasible for employers" arguments. However, such objections are very often theoretical because this option has not been tested enough for valid judgments to be made. It will not work in every setting; program designers, employers offering childcare, and those utilizing it will vary widely, and all work sites where it is offered will need to be flexible. Nevertheless, the paucity of any childcare, much less affordable, quality childcare, as well as the logistical and psychological advantages of having one's children nearby while at work render it worthy of further consideration and experimentation.

Job sharing is another promising but largely untried alternative; it offers an innovative yet eminently practical solution to the persistent dilemma of working mothers (Krickus, 1975). Two people share one full-time position so that each has equal responsibility for the total job (as with teachers or librarians) or split it so that full-time coverage is provided but each person is responsible for a specific share of the work (social workers or school counselors, for example). Both workers are paid on the basis of a full-time wage scale and are eligible for the same (prorated) fringe benefits offered to full-time employees. Where it is economically feasible (it is not for women who need a full-time paycheck because they are heads of households or because the total family budget requires it), it offers clear financial and psychological benefits: it allows a mother to augment family income, yet spares her the guilt of being away from her children all day.

Part-time jobs are basic to an alternative agenda for working mothers, but despite the best efforts of those interested in the plight of women, these jobs are limited in availability and concentrated in low-paying fields of work. Whereas job sharing vastly expands the pool of jobs available to working mothers, part-time jobs must be amenable to non-full-time participation. The job-sharing approach offers much more comprehensive possibilities because the workers are part time but the job remains full time. It is not a panacea, but it has worked successfully in enough varied settings to warrant far more support than it has received.

Finally, flexible hours should be standard for all working mothers--in fact, for all workers. But this alternative still presupposes a full-time job, so flexibility is, in reality, limited.

Because both the psychological and the absolute advantages of options such as these encourage high motivation and productivity and low absenteeism and turnover, employers should recognize these advantages and explore them. But because few have acknowledged or acted on these possibilities, a push for such options must emanate from the women's movement and from others interested in the welfare (or the vote) of women.

Educational Opportunities

East European and other ethnic women from working-class or lower middle-class families need the opportunity to pursue education in their own communities. Many of the younger ones cannot afford to go away to school; some do not wish to leave the security of the family; others have parents reluctant to subsidize their education because "they just get married and have kids, so all that learning is a waste of time and money"(Wrobel, 1975).

For women who are married and have children, this opportunity is equally mandatory. Many, especially those in their 40's and older, are married to men who reject working wives; even men who have resigned themselves to it for financial reasons do so against their ingrained values. These men will probably find a "college wife" even more threatening and her goals even less useful. For all these women, education must be inexpensive and easily accessible. In the case of the older women, counseling for both them and their families can help ease the process, again if it is offered in a way that is not culturally offensive. Credit for work experience is imperative, as are courses geared to these women's needs and aptitudes.

Community colleges can fill a real void in this area, but another fascinating way of meeting this need has been demonstrated by the National Congress of Neighborhood Women in Brooklyn, N.Y. This organization has developed a program which the women themselves administer. Taught in neighborhood facilities by professors sensitive to the varied cultural backgrounds of the students, the program culminates in an associate of arts degree from LaGuardia Community College. This program requires a relatively sophisticated women's organization, but it holds exciting promise for those who can replicate it.

Need for Research

The overriding policy implication arising out of a paper such as this is the tremendous need for more research, not only on East European women but also on those of other ethnic subcultures, in order to determine the impact of their ethnicity on all aspects of their lives. The previously noted bias which postulates a single "American" family and a typical "American" woman, both reflecting white, Protestant, middle-class values, bears repeating. Even when scholars have recognized distinctive white ethnic families, they have until recently tended to write them off as rapidly assimilating or to view them as deviant.

This distorted perception has begun to be challenged in the 1970's (e.g., Glazer and Moynihan in a new edition of Beyond the Melting Pot; Krickus's Pursuing the American Dream; Gambino's Blood of My Blood; and the more quantitatively oriented social scientists such as Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States, and Mindel and Habenstein, Ethnic Families in America). They and many scholars have demonstrated that white ethnics not only retain distinct family styles, but place greater emphasis on family life than do other white Americans, even those of the same social class.

From this we can deduce the continued importance of, and respect for, women's central role in ethnic families. Yet, despite the burgeoning ethnic literature of the 1970's, a negligible portion of that work deals with ethnic women. Consequently, there is a need for much more empirical research, autobiography, fiction, oral history, and other literature. Ethnic graduate students, for example, should be encouraged to treat thesis and dissertation topics that will shed more light on the impact of ethnicity on various aspects of women's lives.

Policymakers cannot continue to address women's needs while laboring under the mistaken notion that all women have undergone recent social change in the same ways and to the same degree, or that they were all equally prepared for the new roles open to them. In the East European subculture, where women have been taught that the mother's place is in the home, the evergrowing possibility that they will become working mothers has significant, largely unexplored, consequences for them, their husbands, and their children. How they and other ethnic women strike a balance between old family values and new realities in contemporary life has implications not only for them and their families, but for society.

In this connection, questions such as the following must be addressed:

- What happens to the self-image of the East European woman if she feels she is performing two roles but, because of time constraints, is excelling in neither?
- How does she try to meld a new set of values appropriate to her dual role?

- What philosophy and values will she pass on to her daughters vis-a-vis having a career or children or both?

- Are the rewards and penalties of the domestic and outside work roles different for professional and nonprofessional women or for women of different generations within each of these categories?

- If so, and it is likely that they are, what do East European women of varying ages and job skills view as the positive and negative features of working? of homemaking? of childrearing? What do they perceive as trends that could alleviate some of the ambivalence they feel?

Along with more comprehensive research, the need for a data clearinghouse is abundantly clear. An ethnic resource center, providing data on white ethnic women (as well as women of other ethnic categories) would be an undertaking of supreme value for ethnic research. Moreover, ethnic women's studies should be included in existing systems, such as the Women's Equity Action League Clearinghouse of the Educational Research Information Center.

Neighborhood organizations should be enabled to develop resource centers that draw on indigenous material, provide larger systems with such data, and utilize the resources of the larger system as needed in the community.

As a preliminary effort toward this overall goal, the National Institute of Education should conduct a survey of existing information and information sources on ethnic and neighborhood women, cross-referencing to cover women's groups and community organizations.

Finally, pressure should be applied to emphasize ethnic studies as an integral part of college and university curriculums. These efforts will create a gestalt effect by providing impetus for further research. Material dealing with ethnic families should be treated in family courses in psychology and sociology. Finally, the burgeoning women's studies on campuses across the country must develop courses that address white ethnic as well as other minority women.

NOTES

1. Where possible, the ethnic groups included under any reference to "Slavic" are delineated.

2. Apparently this was true for those Poles living under the Austrian legal system; other Poles adhered to other laws and customs depending upon where they were located.

3. Sokolowska (1977) takes issue with this. She states that education has been regarded in Poland as the most important factor of social advancement, and that this attitude is associated with high esteem for intellectual and artistic creation. She also says that in the 19th century obtaining an education was regarded as the most honorable service one could render one's country.

4. Greeley does not specify the exact East European groups he includes under "Slavic."

5. In this study, Slavic appears to include Polish.

6. Krause's Slavic population was comprised of Polish, Slovak, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, Russian, and Bulgarian women.

7. These figures are for the three ethnic groups combined.

8. It is worth noting in this connection that recent literature assures us that the survival of the family among Americans in general is in less jeopardy than we have feared. Figures show that only 5.4 percent of married women in 1976 expected to be childless, just slightly more than in 1960, when the figure was 4 percent (Census Bureau, 1978). Despite the vicissitudes of that beleaguered institution, "it is now recognized that . . . the family is not changing rapidly in its functions, roles, and values" (Nye and Berardo, 1973). Even in the face of swirling social change, there is a burgeoning school of thought taking the position that public policy should sustain the traditional family (Fraiberg, Bane, Lasch, and Keniston, reviewed by Glazer, 1978).

9. This conference (February 1978) was sponsored by the National Italian American Foundation and the Italian Historical Society and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Slavic groups were not specified.

10. It should be noted that this situation is rare because it has not often been economically feasible. This is not to argue that it is in fact the "ideal" situation, only to point out that the frequency or infrequency of a situation is not necessarily an accurate measure of its being inherently "good" or "bad."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abramson, Harold. *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Alba, Richard D. "Ethnic Networks and Tolerant Attitudes." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* *42* (1):1-17, spring 1978.

Bane, Mary Jo. *Here to Stay*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976.

Balch, Emily Greene. *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*. New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910.

Bardunas, Elena (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). Interview, August 1978.

Bennett, Linda A. "Patterns of Ethnic Identity Among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Washington, D.C." Doctoral dissertation, The American University, 1976.

Blood, Robert O., and Donald M. Wolfe. *Husbands and Wives*. New York: The Free Press, paper edition, 1965.

Bohan, Jeanette (housewife and community activist with the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, Brooklyn, N.Y.). Interview, July 1978.

Capek, Thomas. *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

Feld, Sheila. "Feelings of Adjustment." *In* F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman (eds.), *The Employed Mother in America*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963, pp. 331-353.

Garrett, Laura B. "The Poles in Baltimore." *In* Wayne Moquin (ed.), *Makers of America*, vol. 6. Encyclopaedia Britannica Education Corp., 1971, pp. 12-16.

Giordano, Joseph. *Ethnicity and Mental Health: Research and Recommendations*. New York: National Project on Ethnic America of the American Jewish Committee, 1973.

Giordano, Joseph, and Grace Pineiro Giordano. *The Ethno-Cultural Factor in Mental Health: A Literature Review and Bibliography*. New York: Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, 1977.

Glazer, Nathan. "The Rediscovery of the Family." *Commentary* *65*(3):49-56, 1978. (In this article, Glazer reviews the work of Bane, op. cit.; Selma Fraiberg, *Every Child's Birthright: In Defense of Mothering*; Kenneth Keniston, *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure*; and Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*.)

Golab, Caroline. *Immigrant Destinations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977.

Golab, Caroline. "The Impact of the Industrial Experience on the Immigrant Family." Unpublished paper.

Gordon, Milton. *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Greeley, Andrew M. *The American Catholic*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977.

Greeley, Andrew M. (ed.). *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

Isaacs, Harold. "Group Identity and Political Change." *Bulletin of the International House of Japan*, April 1964.

Kornblum, William. *Blue Collar Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Krause, Corinne Azen. *Grandmothers, Mothers and Daughters*. New York: The Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, 1978.

Krickus, Mary Ann. "Job-Sharing: One Solution for the Average Jo." Unpublished paper.

Krickus, Richard J. *Pursuing the American Dream: White Ethnics and the New Populism*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976.

Lopata, Helena Znaniecki. *Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.

Lopata, Helena Znaniecki. "The Polish American Family." *In* Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), *Ethnic Families in America*. New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., Inc., 1976, pp. 15-40.

McCready, William C. "The Persistence of Ethnic Variation in American Families." *In* A. M. Greeley (ed.), *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974, pp. 156-176.

Mindel, Charles H., and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.). *Ethnic Families in America*. New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., Inc., 1976.

Mostwin, Danuta. "In Search of Ethnic Identity." *International Journal of Mental Health*, vol. 5, summer 1976.

National Italian American Foundation. Conference on Cultural Diversity Among American Families, 1978.

Noschese, Christine (director, National Congress of Neighborhood Women). Interview, September 1978.

Nye, F. Ivan, and Felix M. Berardo. *The Family: Its Structure and Interaction.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

Obidinski, Eugene. "Ethnic to Status Group: A Study of Polish Americans in Buffalo." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York, 1968.

Prpic, George J. *The Croatian Immigrants in America*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1971.

Riesman, David. "Ten Years On." *The New Republic*, July 1, 1978, pp. 13-17.

Sandberg, Neil C. *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish-American Community*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.

Sokolowska, Magdalena. "Poland: Women's Experience Under Socialism." *In* Janet Z. Giele and Audrey C. Smock (eds.), *Women: Roles and Status in Eight Countries*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977.

Stein, H. "Cultural Specificity in Patterns of Mental Illness and Health: A Slovak-American Case Study." *Family Process*, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1973.

Wrobel, Paul. "Becoming a Polish American: A Personal Point of View." *In* Joseph Ryan (ed.), *White Ethnics: Their Life in Working Class America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Wrobel, Paul. "An Ethnographic Study of a Polish American Parish and Neighborhood." Doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University, 1975.

THE ROLE OF LEARNING IN THE LIVES OF FINNISH AND OTHER ETHNIC WOMEN AND A PROPOSAL FOR SELF-EDUCATION

Sirkka Tuomi Lee

BACKGROUND

Women in Finland

The Finnish women who immigrated to the United States during the beginning decades of this century came equipped with the tools of learning. They were not only able to read and write and to vote, but they had maintained an independence that came from growing up in a land where women were respected for their talents.

Historically and traditionally, Finnish women had complete control of their homes. This custom began centuries ago, when women had the authority to control supplies for the farmhouse; select furniture, utensils, and other necessities; and organize meals. A farmer's wife hired household help, made decisions about her children's education, and frequently taught them to read and write. If a farmer's wife was widowed, she continued with her own responsibilities as well as supervised the management of the rest of the farm. Unlike women in the United States and England, upon her husband's death she, not a male relative, kept the property. Peasant women also, even though they had no property to speak of, maintained the household, although on a much smaller scale.

The beneficiaries of an era of developing nationalism and pride in written literature, Finnish women were the most literate in the world. Yet, as immigrants they were compelled to leave behind a culture which allowed them to have control over their homes and their children's education.

Historical Perspective

In order to understand the combination of factors that characterized immigrant Finnish women, it is necessary to review briefly some of Finland's history. In 1100 A.D., the Swedes conquered Finland, forcibly converting the Finns to Christianity and then imposing the Swedish language on them. Thus, Swedish became the official tongue of Finland. It was spoken by the educated classes, by merchants and government officials and, of course, by those in educational institutions; Finnish was the tongue of the peasants only. In 1811, the Russians acquired Finland from the Swedes, and although the government came under the Czar, the Finnish-born Swedes still controlled educational institutions, and their language continued as the official tongue.

By the beginning of the 1830's, however, a Finnish nationalist movement developed, spearheaded by the discovery and subsequent publication by Professor Elias Lonnrot of an epic poem recited by Finnish peasants called the Kalevala. It was a mythical history of Finland and of its heroes, who sang their enemies into the earth and bravely combated evil. It was not a mythology of gods, but of men and women endowed with superior ability to perform feats inspired by the almighty force. Recognition of the Kalevala led to recognition of the Finnish language. Scholars from universities followed Professor Lonnrot in scouring the countryside for peasants who sang or chanted the Kalevala; they recorded thousands of verses and, as the professor did throughout his life, edited and compiled them into a huge collection. The significance of the Kalevala is threefold: through it, the Finnish language became recognized, written, and used; it was the vanguard for a nationalist movement and gave the Finnish people a pride in their own heritage; and it was a unique work in that women as well as men were the singers, as they had been for centuries.

Now that the Finnish language was accepted, writers and playwrights wrote in Finnish. A new element was introduced by Aleksis Kivi, the nation's most famous playwright, who not only wrote his plays in Finnish but also based them on ordinary people. During this period Minna Canth, one of the finest Finnish playwrights, gave leadership to women through the themes of her plays; her heroines engaged in struggles for their rights as human beings and, most important, the men became aware of the heroine's worth as a person as well as a woman. She wrote of hopes for a more just society where men and women had truly equal opportunities to achieve their goals. She was the only woman playwright in the 19th century who was famous in her own country.

However, the women of Finland would not have known their own history if they had not learned to read. The high literacy rate in Finland was inspired by the Lutheran Church, the official state church, which taught that to be a good Christian one must read the Bible. As a result, Finland had the highest literacy rate in the world. Traveling schoolmistresses and schoolmasters taught peasant children the rudiments of reading. Couples contemplating matrimony had to pass a literacy test before they could be married so that they, in turn, could teach their children.

With reading came books and literature of all kinds--religious, historical, romantic, and political. There was much socialist thought in Finland during the latter part of the 19th century, as there was in Europe. Militancy developed against the Czar, who closed the Finnish Parliament during a dispute over the right of suffrage for non-landholders. In 1905 the Finns staged a general strike, which lasted for 1 week. As a result of the strike, the Czar capitulated and gave the Finns universal suffrage. Thus Finnish women gained the right to vote; the only other countries with woman suffrage at this time were Australia and New Zealand.

This, then, was the background of Finnish women: they had authority in the home and in the education of their children; they could read and write; they were aware of their heritage; and they had struggled together with men for suffrage and won. They were no different from other immigrant women in what they sought: a livelihood and a better life. Finland was a small, poor country, and there were no opportunities for women even though they could vote. They heard that America was a paradise for women because they could find work there, so to America they came, mostly as single women.

FINNISH WOMEN IN AMERICA

Occupational History

Finnish women for the most part did not find work in the factories, partly because there were so few of them compared with women from other nationality groups who had already established themselves in this work. Instead, the Finnish women became domestics, as had the German and Irish. Frequently they were day-workers, but until World War II many middle-class families could afford to hire a servant to "sleep in." The Finnish women called these homes "piika paikkoija," or maid's places.

Life was very difficult. They would get every Thursday afternoon off and in some instances every other Sunday afternoon, depending on the family's generosity and the customs of the period. Edna Ferber's short story "Every Other Thursday" gives an excellent description of a maid's life. The hours were long, frequently from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., sometimes with a half hour in the afternoon for a short nap. It was a hard life, unaided by dishwashers and other electric appliances. A typical day was to get up at about 6 a.m., prepare breakfast for the family (which meant squeezing orange juice by hand, baking rolls, and cooking), set the table, serve the meal, wash dishes, clean the house, shake rugs, sweep carpets, do the laundry (which meant scrubbing it by hand and boiling it, and later on using washing machines with wringers), hang the clothes on outside lines, and cook and serve lunch, sometimes for guests. At least once a week the silver was polished, which in some households was an enormous task. Ironing and starching was an all-day task. The master of the house usually changed his shirt every day, which meant that the maid had to iron at least seven shirts a week; if there were other men in the family, that was an additional seven for each. Dinner sometimes meant preparing for 12 to 16 people, with just the cook and one maid to serve. All food was cooked from scratch, and that was the era of formal dining, with serving plates, finger bowls, and numerous glasses of wines for different courses. I recall helping my mother, a cook, prepare dinners for 12. The total number of dishes used for a five-course meal was usually about 168; after the dinner there was only my mother and myself to wash, dry, and put away these dishes.

Finnish women told many stories about the places where they worked. Most of their employers treated them well, but some were mean and vicious. There were occasionally mistresses who put locks on iceboxes or refrigerators so the maid could not get anything to eat. Some mistresses would buy just enough meat for their families, giving the servants leftover scraps. Then, too, there are stories of maids telling their mistresses what they thought and quitting.

However, in the process of working for a middle-class or wealthy family, the Finnish women were exposed to a new way of living and became more sophisticated as they learned the customs of aristocratic people. They learned English faster than the Finnish women who stayed at home after they married. Their mistresses taught them about antiques and how to care for old furniture, silver, and crystal. They also discovered that some middle-class families favored women's suffrage and some did not. My mother once worked for one of the latter. One day in about 1916 she was washing the lunch dishes in a hurry before going out to distribute leaflets for a suffrage rally. The leaflets were on a chair, and the madam came in and picked one up. She was furious and tossed the whole pile of leaflets on the floor, shouting to my mother that women are the servants of men and were put on this earth to give men children. Finally she left the kitchen; my mother finished the dishes, picked up the leaflets, and went out to join the other women who were going door to door with them, carefully avoiding the block where she worked.

The Finnish women who came to the United States were practically all single; they sought work in private homes. After they got married and began raising their own families, many of them continued as dayworkers to supplement the family income. However, their husbands, who worked in heavy industries and were involved in fighting for the 8-hour day or the right of labor to organize, were often out of work. There were strikes and blacklistings, and often the women would then go back to the piika paikka and see their own families once or twice a week. Their children were taught to keep house, and often the husband, who was sometimes temporarily out of work, would share in cooking and cleaning. Of course, not every husband did this, for male chauvinism is as present among the Finns as among men of any other nationality.

When grown, the daughters of the immigrant Finnish women would often work with their mothers and learn the trade of the domestic. Most Finnish immigrants came to this country before 1916, and consequently their children were growing up during the Depression, when work was difficult, if not impossible, to find. The wealthy could hire servants and domestics cheaply, and many daughters of Finnish women had to leave high school and go to work in a piika paikka, thus becoming the second generation to do this type of work. But a great many did finish high school and became secretaries or teachers.

There was an element of luck in getting higher education; some families were able to put money aside. For others, however, especially if the father was involved in labor organizing and likely to be fired, money for higher education was an impossibility. One result of the Depression was that women were told that the man is the breadwinner and gets precedence over women in jobs and salaries. Even if a woman was divorced (although few people could afford a divorce in those days) or a widow, she still was not considered a breadwinner. Women would get married, it was said, so they didn't need higher education--they could just be secretaries.

Community Life and Education

An important element in the lives of Finnish women and men was the hall, an institution created not to serve as a form of segregation, although it inadvertently did so, but as a haven, a place where they could share their common heritage, language, and culture. Even if there were only a few Finns in a town, they immediately got together and either built or rented a hall. This hall usually consisted of a stage, dressing rooms, auditorium (with a good floor for dancing), cafeteria and kitchen, restrooms, cloakrooms, and sometimes a small meeting room.

The Finns had a keen interest in literature and theater and would present plays at least twice a month. There were choruses, orchestras, bands, poetry groups, and political groups. The Finns held political discussions and let anyone use the halls to organize unions; they fed the hunger-marchers on their way to

Washington, D.C. They also loved gymnastics, calisthenics, and track and field, and every Finnish hall had an athletic group; later on, as the immigrant's children grew up, basketball teams were organized. When my mother came to this country, she knew how to read Finnish, though very poorly since she had just 6 weeks of school at the church in her village. The Finnish hall was a blessing to her because she became involved in theater and gymnastic activities and, in turn, got an excellent education. How these people were able to engage in so many activities besides going to work and raising their families is beyond a modern-day person's comprehension.

The women were as involved as the men in community activities and also had another task: they were responsible for educating their children, as they had been in Finland. Children went to summer school, where women taught them to read and write Finnish; they also learned social and political history, sympathetic, of course, to the working class. They participated, as the adults did, in plays, programs, and music.

The newspapers were also an important part of the Finns' lives, and many women were correspondents for their communities, sending in articles several times a month. The Finnish women's newspaper, which was enjoyed by the men as well, was very popular. This newspaper was originally begun to help women adjust to life in America and consisted of many "how to" articles. Later, its thrust was to educate the women about national issues and encourage them to fight along with men for their rights as laboring people.

Socialization

Education for those who sought to become citizens was available through the naturalization class, what is now called the Americanization class. Before World War I, the DAR and similar groups gave special diplomas to those who became American citizens. There was a fervor, almost a hysteria, among middle-class Americans at that time to make all immigrants citizens as quickly as possible. This Americanization procedure was ostensibly encouraged so that the immigrants could share in the joys of being American, but in reality the purpose was to remove the stigma of being foreign born and also to remove any radical views that ethnics may have had about the rights of laborers to organize. Since many of the foreign born held beliefs prominent in Europe and also in America at the turn of the century, beliefs of socialism, anarchism, and general questioning of the laissez faire system, they were considered a threat by the industrial tycoons, who made special efforts to encourage the ethnics to forget about their past life and consider themselves conservative Americans.

Newly naturalized citizens were urged to speak only English and drop their mother tongue. A frightening example is given by John Higham in his book Strangers in the Land. Henry Ford had a compulsory English school for his workers, and the first thing they were taught to say was "I am a good American." To quote Mr. Higham:

> Later the students acted out a pantomime which admirably symbolized the spirit of the enterprise. In this performance a great melting pot (labeled as such) occupied the middle of the stage. A long column

> of immigrant students descended into the pot from backstage, clad in outlandish garb and flaunting signs proclaiming their fatherlands. Simultaneously from either side of the pot another stream of men emerged, each prosperously dressed in identical suits of clothes and each carrying a little American flag.

Going to school was often unpleasant for the children of immigrants because children can be cruel, reflecting the prejudices of their parents. Finnish children were called "Finnbiscuit," referring to the coffeebread that all Finns ate; they were also called "Squareheads." Finns, of course, were not singled out for derisive name calling. Every nationality group had to endure this insult. Unfortunately, even the ethnics would call each other by derogatory names once they began going to school. Although the teachers' prejudice against children of the foreign born was usually more subtle, it could always be sensed. Those teachers who were genuinely understanding and not patronizing were well remembered. Other people also used subtle ways to identify ethnics. My mother-in-law would introduce me by saying, "And this is my little Finnish daughter-in-law"; a teacher might say, "I have a very smart student who is a little Italian girl." Such language was subconsciously used to emphasize that the ethnic individual was "little" and therefore insignificant and harmless.

I recently met a young Finnish woman and asked her if she intended to stay in the United States and perhaps become a citizen. She had arrived in the United States about 10 years previously and had attended grade school, where the students, even those of minority groups, made fun of her accent. She said she would not become an American citizen because she had never been made to feel welcome here. I was shocked, since I assumed that attitudes were different in schools now. Other recent immigrants have also said that sometimes they encounter actual hostility; even when they ask directions on the street, they are answered with blank stares.

Television has encouraged this habit of name calling. The series "All in the Family" has made it cute and popular to call people by ethnic slurs. "Polish jokes" are laughed at by many unthinking people, unfortunately sometimes even by the Poles themselves. There is humor among ethnics that is based on making fun of dialects or language resulting in comic misunderstandings, but only sick humor claims that certain ethnic people are dirty and stupid.

ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS TODAY

Class Differences

European immigrants today are very different from those of earlier years. They are, for the most part, better educated, even professionals, and they shun work in factories or mines. Some of them look with contempt on the immigrants of earlier times, in large part because those immigrants still live in working-class areas. There is a snobbishness on the part of some of the new arrivals; although they band together as an ethnic group, they disassociate themselves from the earlier arrivals, mostly because of political differences. For instance, some of the displaced people who came to the United States after World War II, mostly Estonians, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians, established ethnic communities but refused to associate with and even intimidated the older immigrants because the older ones were too radical. This is a pity, for because of this intimidation by the new arrivals and the persecutions and threats of deportation during the McCarthy period, the history of those early arrivals is gone since they were afraid to talk about it. Their history is American history as well.

In spite of all the talk about ethnics and their contributions to American life, in spite of all the ethnic festivals and the books, magazines, and pamphlets, in spite of efforts of people to seek their roots, there is still an attitude of contempt, or at best condescension, toward the foreign born. There is too little recognition of the contributions of ethnics to this country's growth and history. Simply pointing out that a famous person is ethnic means nothing. Not until recently has the part that the Finnish people played in organizing unions and cooperatives throughout the Midwest become known. Schoolchildren may learn about the famous labor leaders, but they do not learn about Finns and the other nationality groups who went through hell to improve the lot of the workers in this country, who fought for unemployment insurance, for social security, and for safety conditions, which are still appallingly poor in many workplaces. No mention is made of the contributions of the foreign born to their communities. Since most ethnic people have been working-class people, they have lived in working-class areas, and urban histories often ignore these areas and the ordinary people who live there. If mention is made of the fact that certain famous ethnics were born in a working-class area, it is to point out that even though they started out in lowly circumstances, they did great things with their lives—they climbed to the top of the financial ladder and escaped their old environment. Lately, however, pressure by ethnics for recognition has changed this attitude, and ethnic and working-class areas are being looked on as "quaint" and interesting.

Education

A few decades ago, children of immigrants usually reflected the attitudes of their parents toward the highly educated; they regarded intellectuals or academicians with suspicion and even dislike. Someone who appreciated classical music or even used correct grammar was mocked. As a young girl I attended a dramatic school at the Peabody Conservatory of Music. I told no one but my parents about this for 3 years, because I would have been laughed out of school by my classmates had they known. When I told the secretaries in the admissions office at the Peabody that I was from Highlandtown, they looked politely surprised. My teacher was very pleased that I was studying dramatics and encouraged me, but that was also a way of saying that I was rising above my environment and bettering myself. That attitude made me uncomfortable.

Many ethnic people have been torn between the culture in which they were brought up and the goals emphasized in school, goals which would, if followed, remove them from their cultural base. But this need not be so; white-collar workers can still regard themselves as part of the working-class community, even as they acquire more education. Education is now regarded in many working-class areas as a way to better one's economic life, but earlier, more radical immigrants had a different attitude.

During the early part of this century, there was a great deal of socialist thought among the workers; they felt that a working-class person had a

103

responsibility to prove to himself and to those around him that he was capable of thought, of culture, and of understanding economic forces. To reinforce this, they felt he should know his own heritage. Those ethnics who were aware of their background and who were proud to be workers became more knowledgeable about their own culture. It was not uncommon for trash collectors to whistle and sing arias from Verdi operas or for people of different nationalities to discuss Jack London's books about Alaska, books written about and for working-class people. Unfortunately, there was some racism in London's books; in one he called the Finns barbarians. But the Finns still translated his books because they could just ignore that part and enjoy the story.

Although the literature of that day now seems unsophisticated and outdated, it was literature about ordinary people, about workers and their families, and about ethnics. The books of Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair reflected ordinary people's lives and gave them hope and a feeling of dignity. These books counteract the literature that portrays ethnic workers, like Stanley Kowalski in Streetcar Named Desire, as crude, insensitive, and brutal.

During the past 50 years there has been a brain drain in working-class and ethnic neighborhoods. The children of immigrant Finns in the Highlandtown section of Baltimore have left the city for the suburbs. This migration is typical of children from working-class neighborhoods: they graduate from high school, go to college, enter a professional field, and then leave the old homestead. They move to the suburbs not because of transportation problems or for any other practical reason, but to gain and maintain the status of their new friends and coworkers who are equally educated. They are afraid that if they stay in the old neighborhood they will be perceived as uneducated and low class. This situation becomes compounded by the influx of younger, uneducated people into the area. Rarely do professionals continue to live in the working-class area where they were brought up.

School curriculums are different in working-class, ethnic neighborhoods than in middle-class areas. Girls are encouraged to become secretaries and boys to become carpenters on the assumption that this is the only realistic goal for them. Occasionally ethnic children are urged by teachers to go to college to rise above their environment, and the pattern is repeated: they go to college, graduate, and then move out of the area, taking their education with them.

This double standard of education can also be found in night schools. Night schools in my area of Baltimore have courses on bookkeeping, arithmetic, woodworking, English, shorthand, and typing. When I inquired about other courses, I was told this is all that was available, that the people in this area were not interested in anything else. So I went to night classes at a college in Baltimore County that offered creative writing and discovered that half the class was made up of people who lived in the city! Local merchants, too, follow this double standard by offering lower priced, lower quality merchandise in branches located in working-class areas. They assume that the residents do not want, or cannot afford, good clothes. They apparently do not realize that people in working-class areas will shop at stores catering to the middle class in order to buy quality goods. Supermarkets, too, often stock their suburban stores with better quality produce and meats.

Community Organizations

Lately, thanks to community organizations and institutions such as the National Center of Urban Ethnic Affairs, working-class communities are being organized and are developing themselves. Another community organization is the Southeast Community Organization (SECO) in Baltimore.

SECO is an umbrella community organization comprised of various groups, each with special interests; through SECO the groups share those interests and help each other. The members of SECO learned by doing: they fought against a highway that would have destroyed vast neighborhoods; against dangerous pollution; against heavy truck traffic; for better medical facilities; and for better education for their children. In every case it was the women, ethnic and nonethnic, who led these struggles. SECO also obtained a grant to do local histories of senior citizens. This activity not only proved to older people that they do have something of value to offer their neighborhoods, but it also gave young people an awareness of their own heritage.

Eventually, however, the Catch-22 factor entered: as these women learned about issues and how to change the neighborhood for the better, as they became vocal and knowledgeable, they were offered good jobs and promptly left the neighborhood for the suburbs. Working-class and ethnic areas must find a way to keep these people so that they can teach others in the neighborhoods how to fight for change.

In the Highlandtown area of Baltimore, young people are coming back to homesteading. They buy a dilapidated house from the city for a dollar, and then they have it gutted and rebuilt. This costs about $30,000, a high price, but much lower than the cost of a new house. By coming into this area, young people are learning about ethnics and their backgrounds, and they are fascinated by the richness of ethnic heritage. Some of these young people are grandchildren of ethnics, and they want to seek out old neighborhoods about which they have heard. The irony of the situation is that some young people with education are coming into working-class areas, while the ones who were born, raised, and educated there are leaving.

As one step toward resolving the problem of educated people leaving working-class neighborhoods, the public education system should examine the curriculums used in schools in those areas. Courses of study should be designed that will foster pride in the community and also emphasize that education is not only a way to a better economic life, but also a tool to help entire communities. With this approach in the public schools, young people might choose to stay where they obtained their education, to raise their families in that locality and encourage the residents to organize and improve their neighborhoods.

Community organizing is also an educational tool. It can make people aware of who they are and why they are as important to the development of their city as other groups. Once ethnic and working-class people are accepted as being intelligent and creative, with the ability to better their surroundings and build their society, then they can join residents in other communities to develop entire cities. By joining, they can compare problems, solutions, and goals.

SECO is an example of how much an effective community organization can accomplish. After SECO was organized, Baltimore's working-class area was finally recognized. But this success came from individuals who initially organized to fight for a specific cause; it did not come from the educational system or from the political system.

Effective community organization takes much time and hard work, which is a serious problem for women activists who are housewives and have demanding schedules at home. Not only do they take care of their families, but frequently their husbands work shifts, which means constantly juggling schedules. Therefore, the women arrange their schedules so they can go to meetings, and as a result they become exhausted. This problem is even more acute for workingwomen with families, for they must ask their husbands and children to do chores while they attend community meetings. The members of SECO learned through an organizer how to effectively protest, and every night we were organizing, strategizing, or meeting with the appropriate people. We learned, we became educated, and we became exhausted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Institute of Education should look into the plight of the working-class and ethnic neighborhoods. Leadership should come from education, and there should be a coalition, not a division, between the educators and the working-class and ethnic people. As SECO has shown, unity between these two groups can greatly benefit working-class communities.

Ethnic groups, both singly and together, can make valuable contributions to American society. In looking at the various ethnic groups, we should acknowledge differences in backgrounds, culture, and custom but also acknowledge the many similarities. This applies to a unity between the ethnics and the intellectuals as well—all groups have something to offer the others.

Because working-class ethnics have been made to feel that they are inferior to other Americans, that their background does not count, that they are not educated enough to be accepted into this society, and that they have nothing to offer, it is important that they have the opportunity to learn about themselves and to find their own identity. I remember a Polish schoolmate who changed her name so she could get a job after graduation. Although she wasn't ashamed to be Polish, she felt that to be accepted in American society she should drop her "past." In fact, she knew nothing about her parents' life in the old country, since she never asked them and they never volunteered their stories, probably feeling that no one wanted to know. Those whose parents described their lives before coming to the United States and talked of their families and culture were indeed fortunate.

The special needs of ethnic women should also be addressed. Women have been consigned to kitchens all their lives; even Finnish women, who seemed to have everything going for them in terms of their background in Finland, since they were literate and could vote, have fared no better than women of other ethnic groups. In discussing this problem, Ralph Jalkanen, president of Suomi College in Hancock, Mich., said at a symposium 10 years ago:

Finally we may learn of still another kind of equality from this heritage, that of equal political suffrage. Historically, women in Finland gained political suffrage before those in America. However, political equality and equality before the law must be followed by equality of opportunity.

One of the gravest losses in our society has been a lack of concern for the education of women. Equality of opportunity requires that females, as well as males, be encouraged to strive for individual excellence in all its forms, whether in political life, in education, or in industry.

In summary, it appears that there exists a need in American society for the preservation of the best concepts and ideals of ethnic heritages. However, the preservation of the best of any given heritage can be accomplished only insofar as it fructifies the new culture from within.

There is a widespread lack of opportunity for women, both ethnic and American born, to get really meaningful jobs. Coupled with this is the fact that the best opportunities, for women and men alike, are open only to those with college degrees. Many women have gone to night school and have learned through experience how to perform certain jobs, yet employers still reject them because there are no initials after their names. They are shut out of the job market because their families had no money for higher education.

There is a moving story written by a Finnish woman who came to this country in 1958. She had a good education in Finland but no opportunities. When she came to the United States her credentials from Finland were ignored. She started at the bottom and now is a traffic manager for an international corporation. She tells her story of the prejudice against women in the book Finnish American Horizons, a selection of stories by immigrants and their children that was published by the Finnish American Bicentennial Committee. She writes that a friend had told her, "There are only three ways a woman can make it in the business world in America. She must have money. She must have a 'sponsor' or she must be twice as smart and work twice as hard as a man reaching for the same position." She finally obtained her goal and says:

> After eighteen long, hard years, we seemingly have it made. We have realized the "American dream"--a house in the suburbs, children in college, two cars in the garage and two chickens in a pot. There have been many rewards. I have reached an executive position in a large international company. I have also shared the fate of many immigrants--being a stranger in a No-Man's Land. My roots are in Finland, my home is in America. I keep on living with divided heart, without knowing where I really belong.

Her story is a touching example of the dilemmas faced by all women, ethnic and native born alike.

As one step toward helping ethnic women, the National Institute of Education should set up a pilot project in two or three cities that would allow ethnics to learn about themselves. This project could consist of an evening course, lasting for 8 or 10 weeks, that would give a history of the various ethnic groups within the selected localities. Included in this history could be the background, culture, and customs of people in the old country. This would enable the ethnic participants to learn more about themselves, since many ethnics know only about the villages from which they came. Not only the immigrants themselves, but also their children and grandchildren could learn about where they came from and what they have contributed to America. They would be given self-identity.

There should also be courses for native-born Americans, like those from Appalachia, who have also been victims of prejudice. Such courses could be offered in a regional school and be designed specifically for the ethnic or cultural groups within that community.

Such courses should also be available to teachers, educators, intellectuals, 10th-generation Americans, and all those with curiosity and eagerness to learn. The problems of ethnic men, too, could be included in ethnic history courses, although the emphasis should be on the experiences of ethnic women.

A board should be set up through the Women's Research Group of NIE by contacting the ethnics of various communities. This board should not be led, as is too often the case with ethnic commissions, by "community leaders"—politicians, merchants, businessmen, and professionals. Commissions of this sort tend to be composed of people who are not interested in the group they are supposed to represent, and they are often politically conservative. Therefore, board members should be recruited from among the neighborhood people, perhaps through local churches, community organizations, women's groups, women's auxiliaries of fraternal organizations, or schools. The ethnic members of the board should have a strong commitment to this project, for it would take an enormous amount of work.

Since the heads of ethnic groups are usually men, it would be important to look for women and to address their interests. The board need not be cumbersomely large, and every ethnic group in the community need not be represented arbitrarily. The important point is that the people who serve on it should have an overall interest in this educational venture as well as an interest in the ethnic community and its future.

The board could also have as members educators who are interested in working with grassroots organizations and who understand various ethnic and cultural groups. Although educators from all types of institutions, private and public, community colleges and universities, could be included, those from community colleges might be more interested in grassroots activities since community colleges are specifically designed to serve the community.

The board could select its own chairperson and also have a director or general coordinator, along with a staff of students, offices, and equipment. Once organized, the staff could have a workshop to learn about the community as a whole and about the ethnic women specifically. This could include a study of educational and occupational opportunities for women. After the workshop, the programs and courses to be offered could be developed and offered to the community.

The curriculum should focus on the past, present, and future of ethnic women, stressing their place in and contributions to American society. It is essential that the curriculum not create a division among ethnic groups, but emphasize the bonds that unite all groups, both ethnic and native born. It should also address the occupational and educational needs of ethnic women, and might involve business and labor groups to make them aware of these needs.

Courses could address individual aspects of various cultures: folk songs, literature, music, theater, and history. There should be a theme of unity to show how all peoples have endeavored to improve their lives and, in doing so, have learned from each other.

At the end of the course, there could be a social occasion celebrating the community, to which the general public could be invited. There should also be a concluding workshop to determine what was accomplished, whether goals were met, and whether it would be feasible to have this type of a course in other cities or communities. The results could be published and given to all educational institutions as a guideline for instituting other community projects.

The results of this pilot program could be compared among cities to evaluate their relative success and pinpoint problems. Certainly public and private schools and universities could learn from this as they develop or change their own curriculums; industry, business, and other organizations could also gain from such projects. The objective should be to teach the ordinary people's history, not the history of famous immigrants who have already had their day in the sun. All of the people involved, including educators, will learn from each other.

An area such as southeast Baltimore would be an excellent location for such an activity, because there is a mix of many ethnic groups and Appalachians. In addition, there has been strong community organizing within the past 7 or 8 years. It would be difficult to select an area with ethnic people that has never been organized and in which the groups are completely isolated. The decision about where to hold these courses is an important one, for it should be in a central location available to everyone in the community.

Such a course could be a joy as well as an educational venture, and there could be many positive ramifications from this learning experience.

109

Bibliography

Ferber, Edna. "Every Other Thursday." In Iskovic, E., ed. *American Literature--Immigrant and Ethnic Writing*.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

Horizons Project of the Finnish-American Bi-Centennial Committee USA, *Finnish American Horizons*. Minnesota: Parta Printers, 1976.

Jalkanen, R. J., ed. *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium*. Michigan: Michigan State University Press for Suomi College, 1969.

Ollila, D. J., Jr., and M. G. Karni. *For the Common Good*. Wisconsin: The Työmies Society, 1977.

CHANGING NEEDS OF ETHNIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Laura Polla Scanlon

BACKGROUND

Ethnicity has become an issue of increasing interest; nevertheless, ethnic women in America have been the subject of relatively little study or analysis. Therefore, the factors that affect the achievement of ethnic women must be clearly studied if they are to realize their aspirations.

First, it is clear that whatever her stage or station in life, woman's educational needs have changed as her definition of herself has changed. Statistics indicate that women are advancing educationally. In 1970, women represented 44.7 percent of the freshman class in institutions of higher learning; in 1973, the figure was up to 48.1 percent. Women earned 45 percent of the bachelor's degrees in 1973-74. Nevertheless, it should be noted that over half of these were in the traditionally female fields of home economics, library science, foreign languages, non-M.D. health professions, and education (Astin et al., 1976).

We know that women have not yet achieved full equality with men in many educational areas. For women in general, the level of educational achievement seems to be on the rise, but these figures for advanced degrees are not to be misinterpreted. There are still areas of discrimination, which have been documented and need to be brought to public attention.

Some of the problems of inequality begin in the home, with different aspirations encouraged for boys and girls. For example, a 1970 study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Trends in Post-Secondary Education, indicated that 47 percent of boys but only 37 percent of girls reported that their fathers definitely desired college for them; mothers encouraged college for 49 percent of boys and 37 percent of girls. On the other hand, institutional sexism is another factor. A nationwide survey of college sophomores in 1969-70 showed that the average amount of financial aid was $1,000 for men and $786 for women. The average institutionally administered grant or scholarship was $671 for men and $515 for women (Haven and Horch, 1972).

Employment of women in higher education is another area of inequality. Statistics cited in To Form a More Perfect Union indicated that in 1975, 25 percent of all public college and university faculty members and only 10 percent of full professors were women.

Although few comparable data about ethnic women are available, some figures indicate that ethnic women do lag behind ethnic men in college achievement. Census data for 1970 show numbers of individuals of foreign extraction over 25 years old and their level of educational achievement, by ethnic group and sex. Although the data are for first and second generations only, they do suggest a pattern. Among those of Polish ancestry, 25,027 of a total population of 94,698 males had 4 or more years of college education, while only 14,129 of a total female population of 105,340 had reached that level. The 1970 census figures for Italians are: males, 24,271 out of a total population of 290,222; females, 10,654 out of 309,615. For Greeks the figures are: males, 2,256 out of 10,761; females, 1,299 out of 11,525.

In the General Social Survey conducted by the Center for the Study of American Pluralism, National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago (1977), it was found that among Czechs, 7 percent of all women in the sample were college graduates; for Greeks, the comparable figure was 7.7 percent; for Poles, 3.8 percent; and for Italians, 6.2 percent. Yet other figures from the survey indicate that before World War II the numbers of both men and women of these ethnic groups attending college were extremely low. Because there is no breakdown by age, these figures do not give us a completely accurate picture of the current situation. Nevertheless, these figures do indicate that the proportion of ethnic women who graduate from college is lower than their proportion in the total U.S. population.

Looking at the picture another way, in a study of 225 women in the Pittsburgh area equally divided among three generations of three major ethnic groups, Krause (1978) shows considerable progress from generation to generation in level of education. Krause, pointing out that this was an upwardly mobile group, shows that while the grandmothers had an average of 7.5 years of formal education, the mothers (average age, 52 years) had achieved 13.6 average years of formal education and the daughters (average age, 25) had achieved 15.4 years. As might be expected, Krause did find some education value differences among the three ethnic groups, but these occurred mostly in the first generation; by the third generation, Italian and Jewish women averaged 15.7 and 15.8 years, respectively, and Slavic women averaged 14.8 years.

Another factor to consider when viewing ethnic women in relation to higher education is their socioeconomic level. Again, while specific data on white ethnic women are sparse, Nancy Seifer's Absent from the Majority: Working Class Women in America provides much relevant material about the situation for working-class women, many of whom are from white ethnic groups:

> Compared to students from families with higher incomes, a relatively small proportion of working class boys and girls stay in school beyond high school even today. In 1970, when 70 percent of the sons and daughters of families with incomes over $15,000 a year were attending college, over 60 percent of the children of families with incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 were not. (Seifer, 1973, p. 52)

Seifer goes on to show that many children from white ethnic groups took advantage of the open admissions program instituted by the City University of New York in 1970. A number of changes have occurred since the publication of Seifer's book, but these have not been in a positive direction. Significantly, while open admissions still exists in the City University of New York, free tuition does not. Figures are not yet available on how this affects the white ethnic population, but the absence of free tuition, plus rising inflation and unemployment, suggests that college for blue-collar ethnic students, and thus ethnic women, may become even less accessible, at least in New York.

Although there are almost no data on the numbers of ethnic women who achieve advanced academic degrees and enter professorial ranks, the statistics indicate that there are generally fewer women faculty than men. Therefore, the number of ethnic women is likely to be proportionately smaller. A study of Italian Americans in the City University of New York found that although Italian Americans constituted a significant proportion of the student population, they did not constitute a comparable proportion of the faculty, and the number of Italian Americans in upper level administrative positions was extremely low (Mitchell, 1978).

SPECIAL NEEDS OF ETHNIC WOMEN: BEYOND ACCESS

Alienation

Once members of the white ethnic population enter traditional institutions, it is clear that, whatever their specific ethnic group, they experience a sense of alienation that is probably commensurate with their degree of ethnic identification. Such alienation is only beginning to be documented as the rising interest in ethnicity increases general awareness. Again, the alienation that ethnic students, many of whom are also working class, experience has been amply described by Kriegal (1972), Novak (1973), and Sennett and Cobb (1972).

That such alienation exists is further proven by what Greek and Greek American students do to combat it. In research for the National Congress of Neighborhood Women's resource center, Francine Maccio discovered that the Greek community in New York has a Greek Students' Club in every college in New York; the members take it upon themselves not only to provide companionship to newcomers, but also to orient them to the ways of the institution.

Because of the lack of specific data, we can only speculate on ethnic women's special needs from some of the work done separately on women and on ethnic populations. What happens when a young ethnic woman, perhaps of first-, second-, or even third-generation Italian, Slavic, or Greek ancestry, enters a traditional college environment as a full-time student? The initial impact is likely to be an awareness of herself as "other," if not in relation to other students, at least in relation to those who are in power positions in the university, from professors up to the chief administrators. The ethnic woman will not find many role models. The sense of otherness that many ethnic students experience in the academic environment must be intensified for women because they are engaged in what might be conflict-inducing change in two areas of identity, as ethnic and as female.

Sense of Identity

Every ethnic person experiences a kind of identity crisis as she or he begins college. This is often the first step toward assimilation into the larger society. Becoming educated means going from a particularistic (ethnic) to a universalistic (assimilated) frame of reference. Going through this process is painful. It means giving up something. Once you decide to go to college, you make a commitment to the other side. The structures of Western urban culture are rationalistic in the way that bureaucracies are rationalistic: everything must fit together in a certain way and be generalizable. An ethnic person who makes the decision to go to college must become part of this world view. The actual pain of the individual who undergoes this transition is a kind of culture shock that colleges are not equipped to soften. Ethnic women, being much more rooted in their cultures, must experience this profound dislocation even more keenly than ethnic men. Ethnic mothers are often aware of this no-win situation.

In a 1975 study conducted by Professors Vincent A. Fucillo and Jerome Krase of Italian American students at Brooklyn College, students were asked how they felt about their academic and social sense of "belonging" at Brooklyn College. What emerged from the study is the profile of a bewildered, alienated student, whether male or female. Accustomed to a close. nurturing family life, the student, who may need help with specific academic or personal problems, does not use existing counseling services, partly because it is against his or her background to ask strangers for help and partly because such help is frequently available only in a depersonalized, bureaucratic way.

The identity issue is even more complicated for ethnic women. Like most American women, ethnic women have been acculturated to derive their primary identity from their roles as wives and mothers. Thus, as feminist women in general have sought to solve the problems of sexist attitudes from external societal sources while at the same time resolving their own role conflicts, ethnic women, it would seem, have an additional layer of conflict. For an ethnic woman to break out of the pattern of high school - job - marriage - children requires a commitment to equality with men that might be ". . . based on an intellectual acceptance of a certain path in life which goes against internalized childhood values" (Krause, 1978, p. 55).

With the emergence of women's studies programs, the female student will study and learn about her identity. Women's studies departments and courses have grown since the Feminist Press, in 1970, published The First Guide to Current Female Studies, which listed some 110 courses. Just 5 years later there were more than 4,490 women's studies courses. Nevertheless, the ethnic woman will not learn very much in her formal course work about herself as a member of a particular ethnic group. While an ethnic woman may encounter some ethnic studies courses or, perhaps, courses so structured that she can explore her cultural heritage, there is little focus on ethnic women. There are more courses in the history of labor and immigration which tell the story of white ethnic people, and there are a few courses in ethnic art, music, and literature, but it is unlikely that she will find ethnically oriented women's studies or women-oriented ethnic studies courses.

In her 1975 survey of college programs in 11 States selected for their high ethnic populations, Rebecca Sive-Tomashefsky investigated two issues related to the problem: the degree to which working-class ethnic women were served by these programs, and the extent to which the programs took account of cultural and class differences. The survey reflects 120 responses to the 700 questionnaires sent to college-affiliated women-oriented departments, programs, and centers. The report states that the programs surveyed would like to serve working-class ethnic women, but find that they do not attend.

Two noteworthy exceptions were successful technical assistance workshops held in a housing project by Northern Michigan University (Marquette) and the women's studies program at Jersey City State College (New Jersey). The latter provided a women's studies major for a student body of working-class ethnic women. Courses were organized thematically, across disciplines, and utilized action projects in learning. The program was run by a collective of faculty, students, and college administrators and was connected to a service center directed toward working-class ethnic women.

Materials with which ethnic women can identify are needed. In their books on working women in America, Barbara Wertheimer and Roz Baxendall do incorporate ethnic women's experiences. Such recent material, which is being used both in general labor and history courses and in women's studies courses, should inspire more scholarly work that teaches ethnic women about their history. Literature and film courses should be developed that not only include ethnic writers and filmmakers, but also focus on strong, positive ethnic characters, not on women as victims.

Related to curriculum is the general style of most academic work. Here again the ethnic woman, whose world view has been primarily subjective, is an outsider, and she must change that world view. She must also put aside emotionalism and passion for coolness and reason. If the ethnic woman attends an urban college or university and lives in one of the "urban villages" still left (as she is quite likely to do), she must become agile at shifting styles of thinking and emoting to suit the context, the college or the neighborhood. While feminist influence has made being personal more acceptable in the classroom, it is not yet one of the primary modes of academic exploration.

Aspirations

Another minefield for the ethnic woman student is the problem of success or failure. Women in general have tended not to set their goals too high, perhaps because they tend to take failure personally. According to researchers at the National Opinion Research Center, white ethnics, male and female, do not lag behind other Americans in terms of educational achievement, but they do fall behind in terms of high-prestige or managerial positions. Since ethnic women frequently suffer from vocational tracking, they must be allowed space to fail, to try out various areas of learning. Too often ethnic women are placed in narrow career-oriented programs instead of in broader liberal arts courses.

ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Barbara Mikulski pinpointed ethnic women as the ". . . European Catholic women who represent a population of about 20 million women residing primarily in the urban areas of the North--from Boston to Baltimore, New York to Milwaukee--and other major industrial cities." Because cities are where ethnic women live, the role of the urban community college must be considered at length.

The community college is often the ethnic woman's entry into higher education because it is a less threatening, more accessible institution. At present, literature indicates that community colleges play a significant role in higher education. A 1976 report compiled by the Office of Institutional Research, State University of New York, reported that of the total undergraduate enrollment, slightly less

115

than one-half (49.5 percent) attended community colleges. The study found that a high percentage of these tend to be older, part-time students. Community colleges would appeal to such students in terms of both convenience of location and programmatic structure.

It is fair to assume that many of those who are enrolled in public community colleges are women and, although there are no hard data available, that many of these are white ethnic women. A study done of community colleges generally is of interest here. In a fall 1974 survey prepared by Donald Nichols and mailed to deans of students of all public community colleges, 88 percent responded to various questions about women's programs at their institutions. Results indicated that slightly over 50 percent offer special programs for women students. Usually these are in the form of specialized credit courses in academic areas and a wide array of noncredit offerings specifically designed for women, such as personal awareness, identity search, problem solving for women, consciousness raising, and women in the work force. These latter are special conferences and seminars. Only 12 percent of the institutions had women's resource centers, and a full 50 percent of the deans expressed "moderate concern," while only 27.2 percent had "high concern," for the needs of women. The report concludes that "public community colleges are well on their way to meeting the special needs of women students."

There is still much to be done for ethnic women. Like any innovation in higher education, future expansion of women's programs will depend on funds available, the commitment of administrative leadership, and the efficacy of women students and faculty in articulating their needs. Although not ideal, the community college does provide the entry into higher education and, in many cases, attracts the woman who is returning to school after having married and raised a family.

Sandra Adickes and Elizabeth Worthman (1976), writing of their experience in Staten Island Community College, discuss the changing needs of working-class ethnic women. They present a profile of students who are the new generation of college students, most of them second-generation American women who were encouraged by the women's movement to enter college. They came from strong family traditions that stressed the woman's home and family life, their ages ranged from mid-20's to mid-40's, they were married, with children either at home or grown, and came from Irish, Italian, or Polish Catholic backgrounds. In most cases the women followed the traditional pattern for women of their class and ethnic group: they graduated from high school, worked, married, and gave birth.

This research indicates that the community colleges in general are still not addressing the needs of women who fill multiple roles as wives, mothers, and students, women who must be undergoing enormous role conflicts as they enter education and therefore the larger culture. The authors also indicate that the students were enrolled primarily in traditional female fields such as childcare and nursing, while current employment projections do not warrant such choices. Counseling that could open new career doors to such women was not available.

THE "RETURNING WOMAN"

Whether the mature ethnic woman, after having followed the traditional path of marriage and a family, returns to a community college or a 4-year school, she is part of a growing student population with special needs for which existing institutions are ill prepared. The student who is also wife, mother, and, in many cases, worker has personal barriers to academic success. In interviews with members of the National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW), a largely white ethnic women's organization, regarding their feelings about resuming their education, the lack of a "sense of entitlement" to higher education and thus to possible job advancement emerged as a clear theme. Even though the women were perfectly aware of the specific circumstances that interrupted their education (economic realities, marriage, pregnancy, other family obligations), they blamed themselves for what they perceived as failure to seize the educational opportunities at hand. In addition, they regarded their age as a handicap and had strong reservations about their ability to succeed as students, seeing themselves as dull or ill prepared to "do college work."

Guilt about neglecting husbands and children for their studies was another recurrent theme, even though many of the women reasoned that they were "going to school to better their families' lives." Such guilt was frequently compounded by conflicting feelings about breaking away from the norm of the group, fear of "striking out" or of being thought a "bad daughter" or "bad mother."

Another difficulty confronting ethnic women returning to school is the reaction of their husbands and children to their new aspiration. Adickes and Worthman (1976) indicate that the husbands of the students they studied were generally not supportive. My findings at NCNW revealed a wide range of responses, although this might be because of the community orientation of the specific program. The husband's willingness to support his wife's new aspirations appears to be related to his willingness to share in the housework and childcare, additional burdens that may fall upon him as his wife becomes involved with her studies. Generalizations in this area are, as yet, difficult to make, since men appear to be caught between their own cultural conditioning and their desire to see their families advance educationally and economically.

In considering the problems of working women, which surely apply to ethnic women, Barbara Wertheimer and Ann Nelson (1977) discuss the challenge that adult education poses for the mature woman wage earner, analyzing the institutional and economic barriers as well the psychological barriers indicated above. Clearly, the part-time student in traditional institutions faces many obstacles. Wertheimer and Nelson point out the hurdles that the institution places in her way, citing the facts that most institutions are oriented toward traditional, full-time students and that all phases of the educational process, from registration to scheduling of courses, make school difficult for the adult learner.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Finances are an important consideration for white ethnic women when they go to college. Again, although there are no hard data on the relationship between economics and education for such students, it is clear that rising college and university costs will affect the availability of college for these women.

Ethnic populations frequently are the blue-collar urban populations. Since urban areas are hard-pressed financially, secondary education tends to be inferior, and ethnic women in these areas may not be getting adequate preparation for competitive scholarship examinations. The City University of New York no longer has free tuition. Many blue-collar families, while not affluent enough to afford college for their children, are too affluent to be eligible for State and Federal financial aid. Pending Federal legislation, moreover, seems to favor the solidly middle class and the extremely poor; therefore, working-class ethnic families may have an even harder time in the future. Although student loans are available, cultural patterns cause many ethnic families to shun this alternative. In addition, part-time students are severely hampered because most financial aid is offered only to full-time students. Ethnic women with small children have an additional difficulty since most subsidized daycare operates along financial guidelines that exclude all but the very poor from receiving assistance.

It is clear that cost of college will require the families of ethnic women to make sacrifices in many areas. Many ethnic families pay tuition to send their children to parochial schools; frequently choices must be made as to who will be educated. Will education for women, under these circumstances, have the same priority as education for men? Will ethnic women who are married and have children be able to secure an education for themselves in the light of the rising costs of educating their children?

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following changes will help remedy some of the problems that have been identified.

Overall, the problem of culture shock for the white ethnic student who goes to college is usually viewed as the student's problem; it is the student who must adjust. A new approach is needed. Rather than try to ease the student's adjustment, why not make the culture she is entering less shocking to her? She comes to the institution from an essentially humanistic environment and with a world view and heritage that are rich and full of positive personal and social values. Must she deposit these at the college door? Feminism teaches one to value personal knowledge, instincts, and feelings; to this end, college must become a place where the ethnic women is at home. Institutions, even the bureaucratic institutions that most of our colleges have become, are, after all, made up of people, and one way individuals feel at home in a strange place is by seeing people like themselves. Ethnic women should be encouraged to participate fully in all levels of academic life.

In addition, academic institutions should be structured into smaller, more human units. Each aspect of student experience, from registration on, should be made more personal and less bureaucratic. A simple way to do this is to allow small groups or "classes" to stay together, thus providing structures for personal relationships at all levels of learning.

An awareness of the special personal needs and conflicts of white ethnic women should be developed in counselors, teachers, and administrators so that human personal needs are placed above bureaucratic functional requirements. To do this, counselors must learn more about the cultural backgrounds of their students and be sensitive to their special problems and conflicts as they progress in college. Perhaps, as Adickes and Worthman suggest, counselors should become advocates between the institution and the student and, in the case of career counseling, between students and corporations and/or industry.

As a short-term goal, there should be career development for ethnic women that exposes them to larger occupational options and aspirations. Long-range studies should explore the relationship between a woman's ethnicity and her vocational aspirations.

Curriculum reform is necessary so that courses and methodology are relevant to ethnic women and enhance rather than stifle their sense of cultural identity. To this end, women's studies should be broadened to include, in all areas, the contributions of ethnic women. Moreover, such courses should be connected to women's centers instead of being merely elective courses. This approach would provide space where women from all racial and ethnic backgrounds could come together for mutual support and enrichment. Where women's centers exist, the format of consciousness raising should be abstracted from its political context--thus removing the anti-male bias with which the popular press has tainted it--so that ethnic women will be attracted to this method of mutual support.

In addition, because many ethnic women enter college from urban high schools where they received poor training in basic skills, the entire area of skills development should be reformed and destigmatized so that women students are comfortable availing themselves of tutorial and remedial services.

In the area of financial aid, existing programs should be reformed so that working-class families, many of whom are white ethnic, are not excluded from participation in tuition assistance plans. Related to financial aid are guidelines that restrict the use of childcare facilities to either the very poor or those who can afford it.

The mature woman student who is also white ethnic has special needs beyond those enumerated above. Perhaps most important, she needs counseling to help her deal with role conflicts, as well as family counseling to reconcile the family of the "returning woman" to her changing aspirations. There should also be programs that bring family members into the institution so that they can share in the enrichment that college brings to the woman's life.

In their study, Barbara Wertheimer and Anne Nelson suggest a number of ways that colleges can be more responsive to adult working women, many of whom are white ethnic women:

> Registration hours should be scheduled to meet the needs of working women. Adult learners may need help in assembling transcripts from a number of institutions where courses may have been taken years in the past. Admission requirements also need to be revamped for adults. Measures that evaluate the adult students' learning potential must be used, not extra-curricular high school activities or examination scores based on what 18-year-olds, fresh from their studies, are expected to know. The assumption should be that adults come to learn: every effort should be made to help them do so, including remedial

assistance where needed. Required courses in specific fields should be offered evenings and weekends as well as during the day. Preferential course admission for full-time students needs to be re-examined.

Services of the institution--from libraries and counseling, to availability of teachers for conferences and of student lounges for conversation--all should take into consideration the evening student. Teaching standards should be the same as for the daytime student, but additionally those who teach adults may need professional development to familiarize them with the special abilities, concerns, and problems of working adults.

Little financial help is available to the part-time student, whether male or female. This should be examined and scholarship and other assistance opened to the part-timer, with avenues of help such as employer-funded tuition aid investigated (see New York State SUNY study, 1976, p. 35). (Wertheimer and Nelson, 1977)

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES

To adequately meet the needs of white ethnic women, some nontraditional approaches are already proving effective.

Project Chance

This project, which has been financed by the Fund for the Development of Post-Secondary Education, is a reentry program that provides basic skills and counseling services for adult women to help them reenter either higher education or the work force. The program combines skills enhancement and counseling, and goes into the community to work with small groups of neighborhood women. This, in terms of language skills, appears to be more effective than comparable services offered in the larger institutions. The women who took the course commented on the value of small-group discussions for sharing their concerns.

Trade Union Women's Studies

Now in its 3d year, this program is conducted through the Metropolitan (New York City) Office of Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations, a contract college of the State of New York. Although approximately two-thirds of the students are black or Hispanic, the content and format of the program make it appropriate for white ethnic women. As Wertheimer and Nelson (1976) state, "Its threefold aim is to increase the selfconfidence of union women, to encourage their progression up the union leadership ladder through skills development, and to help them realize their individual educational goals." The program is carefully structured so that workingwomen may attend. Counseling approaches, teaching methodology, course materials, and faculty are selected for sensitivity and relevance to adult women's needs. As more white ethnic women enter the work force, they will need the skills such as those developed in this program. In addition, the courses being developed by the Cornell staff are particularly relevant to white ethnic women and will have some impact on more traditional institutions.

The National Congress of Neighborhood Women's College

Now in its 4th year, the NCNW College program is currently operating three 2-year associate in arts programs in Brooklyn, in conjunction with La Guardia Community College of the City University of New York. The program attempts to meet the needs of adult ethnic women in several very specific ways.

Each college site is located in the neighborhood where the students live. Not only does this provide convenience for the students, many of whom are workers as well as wives and mothers, but it also allows the students to retain a sense of community as they pursue their education. In addition, course work is interdisciplinary, and neighborhood and personal materials provide the focus for the curriculum. Using the neighborhood as a learning laboratory provides strength and continuity, because many of the students are community leaders whose practical knowledge is frequently the basis for theoretical exploration, particularly in the social sciences. Thus the curriculum builds on areas of strength and increases self-confidence.

Community is important in the NCNW College, for neighbors going to college naturally become support groups. The neighborhood-based approach also succeeds because it enables women to resume their educations within the community, which they often perceive as an extension of the family. Thus college attendance becomes an activity that follows naturally from, rather than runs counter to, their identities as family-oriented women.

In an unpublished proposal, Terry L. Haywoode elaborates on the other special feature of the NCNW College:

> NCNW and LaGuardia Community College have evolved an administrative structure called co-sponsorship, which allows for joint decision making about curriculum, faculty and other important matters. . . . Within this framework, there is a constant effort to articulate goals clearly in order to see how they may be integrated into the structure of the program. . . .
>
> It has been our experience that both faculty people and administrators need some introduction to the concept of community based education, as being something quite different than a mere outreach program. . . . The type of educational program offered by NCNW is not only in the community, it is for the community and it offers the college program as a community resource. . . . This type of program enhances the individual student's sense of belonging to her community, rather than becoming alienated from it. . . .
>
> A third and extremely important element of the NCNW College program is a type of counseling which we have named advocacy counseling. In this approach, the counselor develops a three-sided relationship with the student and the teacher. Teachers and counselors communicate regularly. . . . Students are expected to see counselors regularly, not just in cases where there may be a problem. Most importantly, the counselor knows that there are problems inherent in

> the situation of mature adult students returning to school and that conflicts between the demands of various roles will arise and present difficulties which may seem insurmountable. Counselors consider themselves a part of the support network whose function it is to help students to overcome obstacles and remain in school. (Haywoode, 1978)

While NCNW has been fortunate in having Fern Kahn, a person committed to excellent innovative programs, as LaGuardia's liaison between community and school, it is also evident that the model works because LaGuardia has an unusual interest in being a community college in the true sense of the term.

CONCLUSION

Research indicates that the educational needs of white ethnic women are changing as rapidly as the society is changing. However, little attention has been paid, either by the women's movement or the ethnic movement, to this group. Perhaps this conference will signal the beginning of a period of much-needed study and analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adickes, Sandra, and Elizabeth Worthman. "Meeting the Needs of Working Class Women in Post-Secondary Education." Paper presented at the Conference on Women in Midlife Crisis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., October 28, 1976.

Astin, Helen S., Michael Harway, and Patricia McNamara. Sex Discrimination in Education: Access to Postsecondary Education. Report prepared for the National Center for Education and Welfare, February 1976.

Castiglione, Lawrence U. "A Statistical Report of Italo-American Representation in the Professional Ranks at Queens College." Unpublished study. January 1978.

Ekstrom, Ruth. Barriers to Women's Participation in Post-Secondary Education: A Review of the Literature. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service. Forthcoming.

Fucillo, Vincent J., and Jerome Krase. "Italian-Americans and College Life: A Survey of Student Experiences at Brooklyn College, 1975." Unpublished study.

General Social Surveys, 1972-1977. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1977.

Haven, E. W., and D. H. Horch. How College Students Finance Their Education. Evanston, Illinois: College Entrance Examination, 1972.

Haywoode, Terry L. "Working Class Feminism: A Case Study." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, September 1977.

Haywoode, Terry L. "Proposal for an Intensive Training Institute for Teachers and Administrators." Project funded by the Rockefeller Family Fund, 1978.

Haywoode, Terry L. "Women Against Women: Middle-Class Bias in Feminist Literature." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, September 1978.

Komarovsky, Mirra. Blue Collar Marriage. New York: Random House, 1964.

Kriegal, Leonard. "When Blue Collar Students Go to College." Saturday Review, July 22, 1972.

Krause, Corinne Azen. Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters: An Oral History Study of Ethnicity, Mental Health, and Continuity of Three Generations of Jewish, Italian, and Slavic-American Women. New York: The Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, 1978.

Levine, Irving, and Judith Herman. "The Life of White Ethnics." Dissent, vol. 19, 1972.

Mitchell, Alison. "Italians Charge Bias at C.U.N.Y." Newsday, January 12, 1978.

Nichols, Donald. "Women's Progress at Public Community Colleges." Farmington, Mich.: Oakland Community College, 1975.

Novak, Michael. The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics. New York: Macmillan, 1973.

Seifer, Nancy. Absent from the Majority: Working Class Women in America. New York: National Project on Ethnic America of the American Jewish Committee, 1973.

Sennett, Richard, and Jonathan Cobb. The Hidden Injuries of Class. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

Sexton, Patricia Cayo. Women in Education. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.

Sive-Tomashefsky, Rebecca. "Culture and Class Differences in Women's Studies Programs." Unpublished study for the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, 1975.

State University of New York, Office of Institutional Research. "Age, Group, and Sex of Students--Fall, 1975." June 1976.

To Form a More Perfect Union. Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year. Washington, D.C., 1976.

Trends in Post-Secondary Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970.

Vlachos, Evangelo C. The Assimilation of Greeks in the United States. Athens: National Center of Social Research, 1968.

Wertheimer, Barbara, and Anne Nelson. "Into the Mainstream: Equal Educational Opportunity for Working Women." Journal of Research and Development in Education, vol. 10, no. 4, 1977.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLES OF FEMALE FACTORY WORKERS: A COMPARISON OF FRENCH, POLISH, AND PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

Louise Lamphere, with Ewa Hauser, Dee
Rubin, Sonya Michel, and Christina Simmons

INTRODUCTION

The story of immigrant women and factory work begins with the second wave of "new immigrants" who came to the United States in the period between 1870 and 1920. The category "European ethnic women" derives from the historical nature of immigration that saw an influx of French Canadian and of Southern and Eastern European men, women, and families to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Their daughters and granddaughters make up the large numbers of contemporary working-class women of French Canadian, Polish, Italian, and Portuguese descent. There is also a "third wave" of immigrants, consisting of those who have entered the country since the immigration law was changed in 1965. On the Eastern seaboard, these immigrants are women from Portugal, Latin America, and parts of Asia, while in the Southwest and West there are substantial numbers from Mexico, the Philippines, Korea, and other Asian countries.[1]

This paper explores the situations of these immigrant women as they entered unskilled and semiskilled work in factories.[2] In order to understand the experiences of women at work, we must explore the development of and changes in the industries that have employed women. The focus here is on the textile, apparel, and electronics industries, but similar conditions also exist in jewelry manufacturing and food processing. The labor-intensive and low-wage character of these industries has established the conditions under which immigrant women have worked.[3]

Because there are variations among regions, industries, and ethnic groups, it is important to examine the economic niches into which women of different cultures come, either through migration or through being brought up in a blue-collar industrial area. Different ethnic populations have immigrated to a variety of urban centers and have had different work experiences. This paper focuses mainly on women's work in New England, but it can be argued that the general problems of European ethnic women, and of blue-collar women workers in general, are the same in other areas, though there may be differences in the kinds of jobs women have taken or in their overall rate of participation in the paid labor force.

The economic struggles of women from three different ethnic populations, French Canadian, Polish, and Portuguese, are discussed. This paper argues that there are differences among the three populations in terms of cultural values and the family roles of women, but that these women have faced the same problems as workers in factories and mills. Women from European ethnic backgrounds are viewed as strategizing, as actively making decisions and changing their environment, rather than passively accepting the status quo. However, there are important structural constraints on their strategies which are ultimately economic in nature. By analyzing these constraints, we can better understand the kinds of policies necessary for meeting the educational and occupational needs of these women.

Descriptions of women's work in textile mills in the early 20th century and of current women's employment in the apparel and electronics industries show that the early conditions of women's employment still exist and that, despite technological change and the increased numbers of working women and working mothers, women are still faced with low-paid jobs in a sexually stratified labor force. These twin characteristics of women's factory work have a long history, and only forceful and energetic policy changes will eliminate them.

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE TEXTILE MILLS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

At the turn of the century, a greater proportion of immigrants or daughters of immigrants than native-born women were in the paid labor force.[4] Many were employed in the industrial sector of the economy, in mining and in manufacturing, but the industry that hired the greatest proportion of women was textiles. Therefore, textile mill work is one of the best examples of women's work, especially in New England towns and cities.[5] This paper uses data from research in Rhode Island to give a glimpse of the lives of immigrant women, particularly those of French Canadian and Polish background.

Cotton, wool, and silk textiles were produced in New England, but cotton dominated between 1900 and 1922. The cotton textile industry, which shaped the economy of cities like Fall River, New Bedford, and Pawtucket and of mill towns throughout New England, established the nature of women's work in factories.

First, the cotton industry was characterized by low wages. Workers in 1916 averaged 18 cents per hour; even in 1920, at the peak of the industry, the average hourly wage was only 48 cents. The average earnings for cotton mill workers were, at all times between 1900 and 1926, lower than the averages for workers in all manufacturing industries (Lahne, 1944).

Second, since wages for men were not high enough to support a family, textile manufacturers were able to treat the whole family as a potential source of labor:

> In the North, toward the end of the first decade of the present century the typical cotton mill family secured only 54 percent of its income from the labor of the husband, while 29 percent came from the children, 7 percent from the wife, and 8 percent from boarders and the rest from other sources. (Lahne, 1944, p. 129)

Third, occupational segregation of jobs within the mill meant that the more highly paid jobs went to men, while women and teenagers were relegated to the less skilled and lower paying jobs. For example, male loomfixers were making $0.275 per hour in Rhode Island in 1914 and female weavers were making $0.181 per hour. At one cotton mill in Rhode Island in 1915, loomfixers were making $16 to $18 per week, while male and female weavers were making $10 to $12 per week. Twisters, mainly women, brought home about $10 per week, and spinners, also mostly women, earned between $6 and $8 per week. The lowest paid young boys earned $7 or $8

126

per week for doffing and $5.50 per week for sweeping. Entry-level jobs for girls, like quilling and winding, paid $5 to $7 per week, though an experienced quiller on piecework could make up to $13. The male overseers made about $30 per week, and second hands made between $16 and $20 per week; section hands (responsible for fixing machines and third in the chain of command) received between $11 and $13 per week.[6]

Most women who worked in textile mills in 1915 were young and unmarried. They tended the machines that transformed carded cotton into spun yarn, while older women (in their 20's and 30's) became trained in the more skilled jobs.

Employees in a typical cotton textile or thread mill before World War I were a mixture of men and women of different ethnic backgrounds. However, there was a distinct age, sex, and ethnic hierarchy. In Rhode Island, the overseers, section hands, and loomfixers were mostly Yankee, English, Irish, or Scottish men. In the weave room, there was a mix of men and women, but most were English and Yankees, with some French Canadians and Poles. The jobs involved in the early parts of the weaving process and the lower paid jobs in each room were filled mostly by Italians, Portuguese, and Poles. In the spinning room, there was again a mixture. For example, one group of spinners might be entirely composed of Portuguese and Italian girls and another group dominated by Yankees and French Canadians, both girls and boys. The doffers (boys who removed and replaced the full bobbins) were mainly a group of five or six English boys, with an occasional Italian worker.[7]

This description of a typical New England cotton mill shows the context in which women factory workers functioned in the beginning decades of this century and provides the setting for discussing specific groups of women in industrial occupations.

EARLY IMMIGRANTS: FRENCH CANADIAN AND POLISH WOMEN IN THE FACTORIES

In Rhode Island, women millworkers came from many ethnic backgrounds, including Italian, Portuguese, Irish, Yankee, French Canadian, and Polish. Women worked 54 hours per week, from 6:45 a.m. to 6 p.m., with an hour off at midday for dinner. However, millwork was not the same for all immigrant women. There were important variations in the way work and family life meshed, depending on patterns of immigration and how the local economic structure pushed members of each population into different occupational niches. We can see this most vividly by comparing French Canadian and Polish workingwomen in 1915 in a textile mill city in Rhode Island.

Data from the 1915 Rhode Island State census on a sample of 120 Polish households and 108 French Canadian households show differences in household structure, men's occupations, and women's work, both at home and in the paid labor force. Each sample was taken from a neighborhood that was predominantly French or Polish; each neighborhood was near parish churches, voluntary associations, stores, and schools, which gave it an ethnic character and provided a center for community life.[8]

Both the French Canadians and Poles were recruited to New England to fill the labor needs of the expanding textile industry (Rubin, 1977; Hauser, 1978). Both populations came from rural peasant backgrounds; they had lived on small farms that could not support large families or provide land for descendants. The crucial difference between the two populations was the timing of their arrival in Rhode Island, which either permitted or closed off certain residential areas and job possibilities. By 1915, some of the differences between French Canadians and Poles in the two sample neighborhoods were due to contrasts between a "mature" migrant population (one whose adults already had fully developed families born in the United States) and a "young" migrant population that was in the process of creating U.S.-born families. Many of these differences have been eliminated as the more recent population becomes established and experiences the same cycles of expansion and unemployment in textiles that other working-class ethnic groups are experiencing.

French Canadian Women[9]

Family Patterns. The French Canadian migration began in the early 1800's and peaked in Rhode Island largely before 1890, though migrants still arrived until 1924. Before 1900, migration tended to be seasonal. Whole families and single individuals arrived in the late fall to seek work in the factories and returned to their farms in the summer (Rubin, 1978). Young unmarried men with carpentry skills would remain on the farms in the winter and migrate to New England in the summer to do construction work, saving money to pay the family's debts on the farm. Both patterns were compatible with retaining the family land in Quebec. Eventually families stayed in New England, perhaps moving to several towns in search of work before settling in Rhode Island.

In the early years of immigration, individual men or young families may have boarded, but by 1915, in the sample neighborhood, most French Canadians were living in nuclear families in the three- and four-decker houses that had been built by French Canadians.[10] By 1915, most males and females under 24 years old had been born in the United States, while their parents had been born in Canada. French Canadian men had access to a wider range of occupations than did Polish men. They tended to be carpenters, painters, machinists, weavers, and loomfixers, often working in the more highly paid mill positions or craft jobs. Some family men did odd jobs in construction or in the mills, so that not every French Canadian family benefited from a higher male wage.

Sons and daughters in these families almost always entered the mills at 14 years of age. The girls worked as spoolers or occasionally became spinners, winders, inspectors, warp tenders, or doffers. The boys became doffers, cleaners, yarn carriers, or spinners. Some were laborers in the local glassworks or were machinists or laborers in the shops that produced machines for the textile industry. These were all entry-level, low-paid jobs; teenagers earned $7 to $8 per 54-hour week, turning most of it over to their families.

Work Outside the Home. Young French Canadian women worked to support their families out of necessity. They usually married between the ages of 20 and 25, then quit work in the paid labor force, moved out of their families' flats, and established their own households. At this stage, couples in their late 20's and early

128

30's, often with young children, were entirely dependent on the wages of the husband, who may have worked as a machinist, a carpenter, or perhaps a weaver. In the sample neighborhood, 85 percent of the single women were working in the paid labor force, while only 8 percent of wives and mothers were doing so. There were, of course, exceptions, since some women returned to work to supplement family income or to support their families after they were widowed.

Polish Women

Family Patterns. The patterns of migration, family formation, and men's and women's work were much different for families in the Polish neighborhood studied. Whereas the French had arrived in the late 19th century, when the city was expanding and houses were being built, the Poles came just before World War I. Most Poles migrated when they were teenagers or in their early 20's. Many (including young women) came alone, perhaps first living with distant relatives, but more likely boarding with already established families. Compared with the French Canadians, there was less migration of families and more separation among kin. In other families, only one or two children came, leaving parents or a remarried father in Poland. Some returned, especially after World War I when Poland became an independent nation. Most immigrants in the neighborhood came from the same area and often from the same village. Most importantly, they met their spouses and established their families in the United States.

The Poles settled in a neighborhood that had been vacated by Protestant millowners and overseers. This neighborhood, close to the mills, had been convenient in the 1870's and 1890's, but by 1900 it was more suited for a crowded ethnic ghetto. The mills still needed labor, but the supervisory and skilled jobs in cotton manufacturing were dominated by the Yankees, Irish, English, and French Canadians. Since machine shops were far from the neighborhood and there was no local construction, Polish men worked predominantly in textiles and often in the less skilled jobs in the carding room.

Both Polish men and women became weavers in the expanding silk mills. The preparation and weaving of silk broad fabrics took more labor than did cotton, since there were more threads to the inch, and the warping and drawing-in processes were more complex. Because of the tedious and dexterous nature of the work, more women were employed in silk, even in the weave rooms.[11] Though the silk industry was centered in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, during World War I and the 1920's silk production (particularly mixed cotton and silk goods) expanded in Rhode Island and filled the gap left by the dying cotton industry.

In 1915, while most French Canadians were living in single-family households in three-decker houses, over 80 percent of the Poles were either boarding or taking in boarders. Women supplied the labor force for supporting these boarders; they prepared breakfast and a meal at the close of the daily shift, cleaned, and washed the sheets.

Work Outside the Home. Labor force participation was greater among the Polish than the French Canadian women: 44 percent of the Polish women worked for wages, while only 37 percent of the French Canadian women did so. More important, 30 percent of married Polish women, including those with children, were working in the mills, compared with the 8 percent labor force participation of the French Canadian women and the 7 percent national rate. Most of these Polish working wives were boarding with other Polish families whose women cared for the boarders' needs. While French Canadian women contributed to family support through their household labor, Polish women were more likely to do so through taking in boarders, adding to their household duties in return for increased income.

Young Polish girls also had entry-level jobs in the mills. A number of them continued to work after they married and while their children were young. Others dropped out of the paid labor force for a few years, only to return in the 1920's and 1930's when their children were in school.

Comparisons of the Work Experiences of French Canadian and Polish Women

It can be seen that there were differences in the work experiences of French Canadian and Polish women within one industrial city at one point in history. French Canadian women in 1915 started work in the textile mills not as young, recent immigrant boarders, but as daughters in large households where other siblings worked in the building trades, machine shops, and textile mills. They worked in entry-level jobs and turned their wages over to their parents. They dropped out of the work force when they married, though they often took jobs to help out with household expenses, to provide family income during the Depression, or to support their children after the death of a husband.

The Poles, who migrated later, were originally confined to an older, more crowded neighborhood and to the lower paying jobs in cotton and silk mills. As a consequence, Polish women were more likely to have lived as boarders while working at their first jobs in the mills. After marriage, they were more likely to take in boarders themselves or to continue working.

By 1935, the differences in women's work in these two ethnic neighborhoods began to disappear. Textile employment remained dominant in both populations, but a larger proportion of married French Canadian women were working. Both Poles and French Canadians were feeling the effects of the Depression: unemployment, temporary layoffs, and part-time work. Many cotton mills had closed, but a cotton thread mill and several silk mills continued to be important employers.

The majority of both populations were now native-born men and women, although ethnic parishes, credit associations, and schools continued to flourish, as did the ethnically oriented shopping areas.

Job opportunities for French Canadian men had shrunk, since the building boom that had employed so many carpenters, painters, and laborers had stopped and some of the textile-dependent machine shops had closed. Boarding had almost disappeared, since families had bought houses in small suburban working-class areas before the Depression.

However, young women still went to work after leaving school at 15 or 16; the French Canadian women were largely employed as winders at the thread mill, and Polish women worked as silk weavers. Married women were trying to find jobs, even though they had young children, since unemployment rates were high and

130

many mills were running short hours. Some women started dressmaking at home or took in home work (e.g., stringing tags) from a nearby factory to help the family through difficult times.[12]

It is important to see that women's work is part of a family survival strategy. Given the low wages and long hours of the textile industry, women had to make a choice between their productive and reproductive roles (Safa, 1978): they had to either keep working to support their families or invest in bearing children who would become future workers. In the early part of the 20th century, French Canadian women chose to have large families in order to ensure multiple incomes through children's wages. Polish women combined both strategies: they tended to keep working to supplement the family income or took in boarders. Other Polish women returned to work when their children were young, having, on average, fewer children than the French Canadian mothers. However, during the 1920's and 1930's, many Polish children went to work when they reached 15 or 16.

There are cultural differences between the two groups, but some are clearly related to when the population immigrated and to the structure of the local industry and residential area into which immigrants came. This in turn generated differences in the way women's work fit into family roles. It is also important to stress the similar conditions that all women workers in textiles faced: long hours, low wages, and no fringe benefits. Although conditions in industrial workplaces have changed since 1915, many of the characteristics of blue-collar women's work are still with us, but in a more modernized form.

RECENT IMMIGRANTS: PORTUGUESE WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Immigration Patterns

Women workers in the textile industry in New England were largely from immigrant backgrounds; they came from families who represented the "second wave" of European immigration, which ended with the establishment of immigration quotas in 1924. However, when the Immigration Act of 1965 lifted these restrictive quotas, the way was paved for a "third wave" of new immigrants, who have come from Asia, India, and Latin America as well as from Europe. This paper focuses on recent immigrants from Portugal, particularly the Azores Islands, who have come to the cities and towns of the Eastern seaboard, and compares these new working-class families with the children and grandchildren of the "second wave" who still work in blue-collar jobs.

The Role of the Portuguese in the Local Economy

Like the Polish, French Canadian, and early Portuguese immigrants who came to New England during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, recent Portuguese immigrants come largely from rural smallholder backgrounds where land shortages make immigration to the United States a practical family strategy. Most are from the Azores Islands, though there are significant numbers from the Cape Verde Islands and from continental Portugal. Azorean men have been agricultural day laborers or perhaps worked their own small plots of land. The women usually have had no previous experience in the paid labor force, though some may have worked as domestic servants, in the fields, or in one of the few factories on the islands.

Even those who have never held paid jobs have worked very hard in their homes caring for children, growing food, washing clothes by hand, tending animals, or helping with the harvesting or processing of food.

Between 1960 and 1970, 75,000 Azoreans immigrated to North America, 54 percent to the United States and 43 percent to Canada. In each year, one-half to three-fourths of the immigrants were from São Miguel, the largest island and the one with the most unequal distribution of land, where many families had to rent or make do with land insufficient to support a family. Portuguese immigrant families entered New England in the late 1960's, a time of economic expansion when unskilled and semiskilled workers were badly needed. In Rhode Island, although the textile industry has declined since the 1920's, there are still several small firms specializing in narrow fabrics, braiding, and synthetic fabrics. The number of jewelry firms and wire and cable insulating plants has increased. In addition, other light industries of more recent origin (toys, candy, and aerosol spray packaging) have moved into old mills abandoned by the larger textile companies.

The Portuguese have a good reputation among employers. The president of a small webbing company said that if there had not been an influx of Portuguese 7 years ago, the company probably would have closed and gone to the South. He said that nobody wants to do weaving except the Portuguese, and if they could get more weavers, they would expand production and start a third shift. At another webbing company, the general manager said that they would love to have more Portuguese employees. "They are hard workers," he commented.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS TODAY

As in examining women's work in the textile mills, it is important to examine the characteristics of the contemporary industries that employ women in semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar jobs. The work experiences of women in two modern industries, apparel and electronics, are discussed.

Both of these industries have high percentages of women workers. Therefore, they have much in common with the cotton and silk mills of the early 20th century. First, apparel and electronics are relatively labor-intensive industries. Second, they pay low wages. Third, within each plant there is occupational segregation, with men in the more skilled, higher paying jobs.[13] A final similarity with the textile industry is the tendency of these labor-intensive firms to relocate in areas of cheaper labor. In textiles, this took the form of liquidating mills in the North during the 1920's and the expanding in the South. During the 1960's and 1970's, the same phenomenon is occurring in apparel and electronics. Apparel shops are moving to the South, the U.S./Mexican border areas, the Caribbean, and Asia. Electronics plants first relocated in the Southwest during the 1960's and now are moving to Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the Pacific.

THE APPAREL INDUSTRY

The apparel industry has always been highly competitive. It uses little automation, and shops are small. The sewing machine is still the center of the industry, and manual labor is required to operate even the sophisticated machines that can sew on buttons, make buttonholes, and perform other operations. This means that it still takes relatively little capital to set up a shop in the needles trades and that the industry has remained relatively labor intensive.[14]

The industry has long been characterized by a division between "inside shops," or manufacturers (who perform all the steps of the process, i.e., designing, purchasing fabric, cutting, sewing, and selling), and "outside shops," or contractors who get precut garments from a jobber and only sew them, returning the finished garments to the jobber to be sold. These have often been called sweatshops since they are small, unregulated shops that usually pay low wages and require their employees (sometimes female relatives of the contractor) to work long hours (see Zaretz, 1934, ch. 2, for a history of the sweating system).

The highly competitive, labor-intensive nature of the industry again is correlated with the employment of large numbers of women. More than 80 percent of all garment workers are women, and 56 percent of these support families (NACLA, March 1977). The industry was historically located in New York City, where the labor force was largely Jewish and Italian. Before and during the 1950's, some sectors of the apparel industry moved to less unionized, lower wage areas adjacent to New York City and in New England. A number of shops in Fall River and New Bedford have been established, filling the gap left by the textile industry and employing increasing numbers of Portuguese women.

During the 1960's and 1970's there has been an unprecedented move of the garment industry to the South and an increase in imports from areas like Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Latin America, and the Caribbean (NACLA, March 1977). The garment industry in the Northeast suffered a 40 percent decline in jobs during the 1960-70 decade, a loss that continued at the rate of 12,000 jobs per year through 1973 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975).

Employment is highly seasonal, and there are frequent layoffs. Workers in the industry average only 40 weeks of work per year (NACLA, March 1977). Most sewing is paid on the piece-rate system, and women earn low wages, about $3.00 per hour in 1974 when the average for all industrial work was $4.40 (NACLA, March 1977). Male jobs within the garment industry are largely confined to mechanics and cutters, both highly paid jobs compared with the piece-rate wages earned by women sewers.

The competitive nature of the industry, with its small shops and ability to send out work to contractors, has made it difficult to organize. The gains made by the two principal unions[15] have been seriously eroded by the movement to the South and the Caribbean. While sectors of the garment industry in New England and the Mid-Atlantic States are 75 to 93 percent organized, workers in the Southeast may be only 29 percent organized, or as little as 5 percent organized in a State like Georgia or in cities like Dallas and Miami (NACLA, March 1977). To give a clearer picture of the work lives of contemporary working-class ethnic women, two garment shops, one in New Jersey and one in Rhode Island, are described.

Helen Safa's recent study of a garment shop in New Jersey demonstrates how these industrywide conditions are affecting women from European ethnic backgrounds. The bulk of the plant's labor force is composed of older women, many of whom were hired in the 1940's and 1950's and have stayed.[16]

> Most of these are women who live in the local working class neighborhood or nearby and who are the daughters of Italian, Polish and other East European workers who immigrated to New Jersey in the early part of the century. Their husbands are also factory workers as are their brothers and sisters. (Safa, 1978, p. 9)

This shop typifies what happens as a large company begins to move its production to areas of cheaper labor. Since the 1950's the plant has not hired many workers, and production has been moving first to West Virginia, then to Puerto Rico in the 1950's, and most recently to the Dominican Republic.

> The women at the New Jersey plant are aware that jobs are being lost and fear for the security of their own employment, even though the plant is unionized. One of the chief complaints is that workers are constantly being switched from one job to another (to replace lost personnel) which slows down their piecework rate, and hence their wage. One of the branches of the factory often closes one day a week for lack of work, and of course the women are not paid a full wage. (Safa, 1978, p. 10)

In this plant wages are low, as they are in the garment industry as a whole. Even though wages can be increased through piecework, almost 40 percent of the women sampled in Safa's study earned between $100 and $139 per week, while the highest weekly salaries were only about $160 (or approximately $4.00 per hour) (Safa, 1978).

Safa argues that these women have opted to use a strategy very different from that used by their mothers, who, like many of the French Canadian women in the Rhode Island study, had worked before marriage but later stayed at home to raise families of five to seven children. These older garment workers, like many Poles in the Rhode Island study, had smaller families of two or three children, many of whom graduated from high school and/or entered college.[17] These women remained in the paid labor force or returned to work, using their own labor to provide for their children in a strategy of emphasizing productive rather than reproductive functions in providing for family support and mobility.

Garment Workers in Rhode Island: A Case Study

Personal experience as a trainee sewer for an apparel firm in Rhode Island shows how the conditions within the garment industry affect the attitudes and behavior of women workers on the shop floor.[18] The production processes are much the same as in the New Jersey plant studied by Safa. Most workers are women, mainly sewers, but also pressers, pinners, inspectors, and packers; most are paid on a piece-rate system and earn low wages. The plant was established in Rhode Island during the 1930's, although the main offices are located in New York. The company had a reputation for being a sweatshop, especially in the 1930's, when sewers were paid $3.50 per week until the NRA mandated weekly salaries of $13.[19] As one Polish worker said:

> Oh, yes that was a sweat shop. I was underpaid. You had to put out a lot of garments to make your rate--that was on piecework, you know.

> They make money like that, the company--they make millions. They could've paid us better. Specially, I worked there so long! You think they'd give me somethin' for workin' there so long--nothin', not even a good watch [after her retirement in 1977 after 29 years of work for the company].[20]

The plant was unionized in 1951. The union protects jobs (since laid-off union employees are the first to be recalled), gives workers seniority on their specific jobs, and provides small pensions and a medical care program.

In the past 10 years, there have been two important changes in the company. First, as the paternalistic owner reached retirement age, he sold out to a large conglomerate. The company was already expanding, but the conglomerate further increased the productive capacity of the company by 50 percent. Managers transferred from other divisions of the conglomerate have taken the place of managers from the original company. Workers and the union business agent mention the impersonal nature of the new management and how new policies have adversely affected wages and job security.

Second, as more of the older workers retired, the management was able to replace them with recent Portuguese and Latin American immigrants. The sewing departments were characterized by the personnel manager as "predominantly Portuguese." "They are the backbone of our sewing operation," he commented. The relationship in this particular plant between women workers from second-wave immigrant groups and the new Portuguese workers gives insight into how blue-collar ethnic women are dealing today with the problems inherent in factory work.

Women's Strategies in a Family Context: New and Old Immigrants in the Rhode Island Shop

The labor force in the Rhode Island shop contained many " old girls," women who had worked for the company for 10 to 35 years as sewers or pinners and who were of Polish, French Canadian, Irish, English, or Italian background. The floor ladies (or supervisors), many of whom held their positions for years, reflected a similar ethnic distribution. The "new girls" included many more Portuguese, both continental and Azorean, plus women of other ethnic backgrounds, especially Colombian, Puerto Rican, and Polish. There were several young, post-high school-aged women of Irish, English, and French background who spoke only English.

The women in this shop were of varying ages and in different stages of the family cycle. Some girls were only 16 and still living at home, contributing to household support. Others were living with their boyfriends or new husbands. Still others were about to have their first child or were young mothers. Many women had preschool and school-age children. Some were divorced or widowed, supporting themselves on their wages, and some had grown children and grandchildren.

The older women had worked most of their adult lives, and the younger ones, regardless of ethnic background, will probably continue to work, though they may quit while their children are very young. The increased percentage of married women and mothers in the labor force makes this sewing shop different from the textile mills at the turn of the century. However, there is a crucial similarity: all of these women are secondary wage earners. They earn less than their fathers, boyfriends, husbands, and sons. Many do not earn enough to support themselves in an independent lifestyle (which would allow them to pay rent for an apartment, own a car, and invest in a wardrobe). Nor do mothers have money for daycare centers for their children. The issue of ability to earn a family wage, so prevalent in textile areas in the early 20th century, is still surviving in today's industrial cities.

On the Shop Floor: Fighting the Piece-Rate System

As described above, the work force in the Rhode Island shop was divided along age and ethnic lines. Linguistic as well as cultural differences created barriers to communication. Though some women were relatively isolated, most formed informal groups of two to five coworkers for breaks and lunch hour. There was relatively little crossing of ethnic lines in these informal conversation groups. A few young bilingual Portuguese women formed friendships across ethnic boundaries, and many of the English-speaking women were part of informal groups that were ethnically heterogeneous. In general, however, Portuguese women tended to stick together, sometimes forming groups that were completely continental or Azorean.

However, all workers, both Portuguese and non-Portuguese, faced the same work conditions and developed very similar responses. In apparel, where technological change has been limited, changes have taken place mainly in the organization of production. From a craft skill, where tailors and dressmakers made an entire garment, production has been divided and redivided, so that more and more discrete tasks are performed by different sewers, and workers have been induced to work faster and faster through the piece-rate system.

Despite this "deskilling," sewing is still a job that involves considerable expertise. Although sewers are classed by census takers as "semiskilled operatives," being able to make $3.00 an hour in a sewing job involves a great deal of hand/eye coordination, dexterity, attention, and, above all, speed. On the one hand, the piece-rate system forces the sewer to work as rapidly as possible without making mistakes. On the other hand, because of the way in which the management enforces this system, women's work is under constant threat of being further underpaid (by dropping the rates on equivalent work) or even eliminated (through substituting a simpler process or by eliminating details). Women workers know that their work is skilled, requiring much time and practice for proficiency, and they are also aware that they are being paid low wages.

Women deal with the piece-rate system in several ways. They keep careful track of how many dozen pieces they have sewn each day and keep a sharp eye out for rates that are too low for the degree of difficulty of the style. They are careful that cutting-room mistakes are not blamed on individuals, and they see that individuals are treated fairly by the floor lady or the training instructor. In some instances, women cover up the mistakes of others or let the work go through so that women will not lose wages by having to do the work over. The union helps women workers to deal with these issues by arbitrating disputes regarding piecework, by guaranteeing seniority and job security, and by negotiating pay raises.

Both Portuguese and non-Portuguese women in the Rhode Island shop were conscious of the skilled nature of their work. Consequently, they complained about low pay and various company policies that had the effect of lowering wages. Although few Portuguese women are active in the union leadership, both Portuguese and non-Portuguese women seem equally supportive of the union. In some respects, however, the attitudes and behavior of Portuguese immigrants are slightly different from those of coworkers who come from groups with a longer history in New England. Portuguese women's responses to work are influenced by the strong contradictory forces resulting from their rural, smallholder background and the socializing pressures of the workplace itself. Employers hire the Portuguese because of their reputation as hard workers, but some workers see Portuguese women as working too hard, sometimes cutting corners to keep their wages up or engaging in "rate busting." "She never misses a penny," one woman commented about an Azorean woman. A coworker commented that the same woman "ruined that job for everyone" by working so fast that the piece rate on the job was lowered and the workers had to increase their output to make the same pay. "And she makes more than anyone on the floor" was the final commentary.

For their part, Portuguese workers often feel discriminated against, and they say that American workers do not work hard enough. Non-Portuguese workers, who have their own prejudices, may accept preferential treatment by employers or act in other ways to segregate themselves from Portuguese workers. However, there are other, informal institutions that cut across ethnic lines and bring workers together. Some of these are the wedding and baby showers and the retirement parties that are organized along department lines. They express solidarity and good feeling among workers. Another critical institution is the informal set of work rules that develops to ensure that work is equally shared and that rate busting is kept at a minimum. These rules are enforced by Portuguese and non-Portuguese workers. New immigrants and other newcomers are socialized to accept them. These informal rules have acted as a socializing pressure on Portuguese women who, as a result of their economic situation and background of long, hard work, initially tend to be rate busters. In the course of time, Portuguese women learn to be less deferential to the bosses and to be wary of management decisions.

These studies of New Jersey and Rhode Island shops show that European ethnic women in the apparel industry (as well as black and Spanish-speaking workers) are disadvantaged in similar ways to women in the New England textile industry during the early part of the century. As women, they work for low wages and are secondary wage earners in a local economy where men's wages alone are too low to support a family. In addition, their jobs are threatened by the tendency of shops to "run away" to lower wage areas. These characteristics are shared by the electronics industry, which has expanded in the post-World War II period.

THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY[21]

As in textiles and apparel, the structure of the electronics industry accounts for the large proportion of women workers (42 percent). Firms in this industry produce a wide range of products, including consumer goods (such as radios, TV's, and calculators), computers, radar equipment, and the tiny components that make up more complex electronic products.

The largest firms (General Electric, RCA, Westinghouse, and Bell Telephone) dominated the industry before World War II, but in the recent electronics boom, new firms have entered the field and prospered.

Despite the giants, the industry is extremely competitive, partly because of the central role of research and development, which places a premium on highly skilled technicians and inventors and on a company's ability to innovate quickly and outprice a competitor. It takes considerably more capital to enter electronics than the apparel industry (NACLA, April 1977), but less than for other industries. In the period of expansion during the 1960's, entry promised success.

However, like apparel, the electronics industry requires a high proportion of manual labor. Highly trained engineers design the products, but semiskilled work is required to produce electronic products. Labor costs are 45 percent in components production (and 20 percent in radio and TV assembly). Automation has been slow because of rapid innovations and changes in production and because manpower is cheaper than machines. As a female Hong Kong assembly worker put it, "We girls are cheaper than machines because a machine costs $2,000 and would replace two of us; in addition, a machine tender, whose wages are $120 a month, would have to be hired" (NACLA, April 1977).

In apparel, competition in combination with a lack of technological change has kept the industry labor intensive; in electronics, the rapidity and importance of technological change has had the same effect and encouraged employers to seek female labor.

> Women workers are extensively used as a way to keep the overall wage rate low. Employers who argue that women are innately better at the intricate, monotonous eye-straining work typical of electronics production know that they will be able to hire women at a lower wage rate than men since many job markets are closed to the former. In 1975, 41 percent of all electronics workers were women, a total of 4,628,000. The overwhelming majority were in low-skilled low-pay jobs. (NACLA, April 1977, pp. 8-9)

The competitive nature of the industry, exacerbated by the fact that scientists move from firm to firm and make it difficult for a few firms to get a monopoly on technology and the market, means that firms cannot be assured of getting higher prices and hence higher profits from their products. Therefore, they must cut costs, which has meant decreasing labor costs by moving to Mexico, Europe, and Asia. This has been possible particularly in the semiconductor industry because components have a high value relative to their weight and can be easily shipped. The high-technology work can be done in the United States, and the labor-intensive work of assembly can be done abroad. Components and assembled circuits can then be shipped back into the United States without tariff. This movement abroad began in the 1960's and has continued into the 1970's, threatening many jobs held by women working in the electronics industry.

Portuguese Women in Electronics

In its early years, the electronics industry expanded in the Boston area. Like the Santa Clara valley in California, Boston is near universities and in a high-quality economic and technological milieu. The decline in the textile and leather goods industries (particularly in the recession of 1947-49) in Massachusetts assured an available labor force. Thus the electronics industry helped fill the gap left by textiles, and it now employs 20 percent of the industrial workers in the Boston area. Massachusetts is considered off-center from routes needed to transport bulkier consumer products such as TV's and radios, and therefore has attracted component plants. One major reason has been wages. In 1959, wages in the manufacturing of components were significantly lower in New England and the South than in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, for example. In addition, since the female labor force participation rates were higher in New England than in the Nation as a whole, components manufacturers located there on the assumption that there would be an adequate supply of cheap female labor (Bookman, 1974). However, in recent years, wages in Boston have become higher than those in more rural parts of New England, the South, and particularly Mexico, Korea, and Taiwan, thus threatening the future of the industry in New England.

Ann Bookman' study (1977) of Digitex, an electronics plant in the Boston area, not only explores the nature of women's work in the plant, but also documents the process of unionization and the role of Portuguese women in union activity. Like the apparel plant in Rhode Island, Digitex is characterized by a multiethnic work force with a high proportion of Portuguese workers. In 1974, the company employed 400 production workers, 55 percent of whom were women and one-third of whom were Portuguese immigrants. Forty percent of the women workers were Portuguese; most lived in the two nearby Portuguese communities, often with relatives who worked at the same plant.

Women's work in electronics, like in apparel, tends to be repetitive but nevertheless requires speed and accurate hand/eye coordination. In the plant Bookman studied, jobs were paid on an hourly basis, ranging from $3.00 to $7.00 per hour. The higher paying jobs were held by men, and most women's work was paid on a piece-rate system, with a guaranteed base rate of $1.95, $2.10, or $2.25 per hour (Bookman, 1977). However, the division between hourly and piece-rate jobs cut across some women's departments, making the higher paid hourly work more desirable and the target of competition among workers. There were four departments where piecework jobs were numerous, including the coils department where Bookman worked. Women's jobs in this department included: (1) making collars from small fiberglass circles, (2) fixing the collars to ceramic coils, (3) winding a copper wire around the coil, and (4) finishing the coil by tinning them with solder. Finishing was the most interesting, highest prestige, and highest paying job. Collars ranked second in prestige, and winding was the lowest paid and least prestigious. Elsewhere in the plant, there was also a special coils section where all parts of the process were completed on small orders and where women were paid hourly wages, dividing them from the lower paid pieceworkers in the coils department (Bookman, 1977).

At the beginning of Bookman's study, the plant was characterized by paternalism and clear differences between Portuguese and non-Portuguese workers. Portuguese women were concentrated in the lowest paid jobs, and the distinction between pieceworkers and hourly workers carried over into informal conversation groups, so that at breaks and lunch hours, workers were segregated by sex, ethnicity, and job prestige. The management used the hourly jobs as a "carrot" to elicit good behavior and hard work. Favoritism, in the form of doling out jobs with higher piece rates or moving workers to hourly jobs, was a frequent tactic of the supervisors. As Bookman says:

> Although the dominant ideology about social life in the factory is that Digitex is one big happy "family" where the members interact on the basis of "friendly and informal relations," the social reality is quite the opposite. The factory is based on a number of divisions, some based in production, some not. On one level there is a class division between production workers of all kinds and management. . . . On another level there are social divisions among production workers. These are divisions based mainly on sexual and ethnic differences and represent a secondary contradiction in factory life and culture that is of a different nature than that between workers and management because workers of both sexes and all nationalities bear a similar if not the same relationship to the production process. (Bookman, 1977, p. 158)

The union drive, which took place over a period of 9 months, was marked by strong anti-union tactics, including intimidation and harassment, on the part of management and by well-organized efforts on the part of the union organizers and the rank and file workers within the plant to encourage workers to sign cards. These latter tactics included home visits, production of an in-plant newsletter, and rallies and meetings outside work. The union won the election 204 to 162 and negotiated their first contract.[22]

Although initial contacts and success in gaining union membership were in predominantly male departments, there was greater union support among women, particularly Portuguese women, in the final card-signing process. In analyzing the department where she worked, Bookman shows that as union activity increased, informal break groups began to restructure themselves, not according to Portuguese/non-Portuguese or hourly workers/pieceworkers, but according to whether women were pro- or anti-union. The management was successful in recruiting several workers, including one Portuguese woman, to discourage others from joining the union. But as the campaign progressed, more and more women, including many Portuguese pieceworkers, signed union cards.

By the end of the campaign, 65 percent of all women workers and 64.6 percent of all male workers had become union members. Thus, women workers were as receptive to unionization as their male counterparts. Similarly, 73.5 percent of all Portuguese workers became union members, while only 61.4 percent of all non-Portuguese workers did so. In the case of Digitex, then, immigrant workers were actually more receptive to unionization than American-born workers (Bookman, 1977). This was particularly clear for Portuguese women, whose rate of card signing was statistically more significant than that of Portuguese men (Bookman, 1977).

Using data from both her own department and the plant as a whole, Bookman argues that a person's place in the production process is more important in determining willingness to join a union than sex or ethnicity per se. She shows that "high production workers," i.e., those who have been with the company for a long time, are paid on an hourly basis, and/or have a high rate of pay, are less likely to be pro-union than "low production workers," i.e., those who have been with the firm less than 2 years, are pieceworkers, and have a low rate of pay. Bookman also shows that workers whose jobs involve a "high degree of technical division of labor," i.e., those who are highly dependent on other workers in the actual manufacture of products, are more likely to join the union than those who complete a number of phases of production by themselves, have high mobility during working hours, and have little supervision over their work (Bookman, 1977).

Portuguese women are likely to be "low production workers," and their work is likely to involve a "high degree of technical division of labor." In other words, they tend to be poorly paid pieceworkers. Their willingness to become union members may be an outgrowth of their position in the work force. Among non-Portuguese women, production seems to be a determinate factor. Those with "low production jobs" are also likely to join the union (Bookman, 1977).

Bookman's portraits of individual women in her department and of a Portuguese woman active in the union drive show that despite the conservative mores of husbands and boyfriends and the anti-union atmosphere of Portugal under Salazar, Portuguese women, through their job experiences, came to understand the source of their class situation and collectively worked to bring about change.

CONCLUSIONS

The historical material on white ethnic women in the New England textile industry demonstrates that in the early decades of this century, most women employed outside the home were young and unmarried. However, we must qualify this picture in two ways. First, married women worked within the home to provide needed services and care for their families while supplementing family income by taking in boarders. In the Rhode Island study of French Canadians and Poles, taking in boarders was particularly characteristic of Polish wives and mothers, but also of some French Canadian women. Second, women from some ethnic groups (in our study, primarily Polish women) continued working after marriage and motherhood in higher proportions than for the general population.

The historical data also indicate that although there may be important ethnic differences in women's work experiences, many of these differences are a result of the time of immigration and the characteristics of the local economic niche into which a group was pushed. The high percentage of boarding and women's labor force participation among Poles could have been largely a result of the young population in 1915, the lack of housing in the neighborhood available to them, and the low wages that Polish men earned in the textile mills. Though there may have been cultural values that encouraged French women to leave paid work at marriage, it is also true that French husbands had access to a wider and better range of jobs, which may have enabled French women to follow a strategy of having larger families and thus, eventually, more wage earners.

Therefore, we should not focus on ethnic differences only, but on the economic factors that create similarities among working-class women of different ethnic backgrounds. More recent studies have provided valuable information about work situations on the shop floor. We now have data on women workers who are descended from earlier immigrants as well as on recent immigrants. Although there are now divisions among workers between "older" and "newer" immigrants, there are strong socializing pressures that help incorporate new immigrants into the industrial system and make them aware of differences between managers and workers. These pressures also minimize individualistic behavior such as rate busting. Furthermore, new immigrants like the Portuguese seem to support unionization in specific circumstances. A woman's relationship to the production process seems more important than her ethnic affiliation when it comes to issues like joining a union.

Both the historical and the current data on women's work in textiles, apparel, and electronics firms demonstrate that European ethnic women have always worked in industries that are labor intensive and low paying. These firms have tended to locate in areas where there are sources of cheap labor (for example, in areas where male wages are low), encouraging wives or children to work as well. Furthermore, in the period before 1924 and between 1965 and the present, these industries have capitalized on immigrants as a pool of laborers who will work for lower pay. Women work because their income is badly needed for family survival, but the industries that hire women in large numbers do so because they know women need to work and will be secondary wage earners.

These studies of European ethnic women in factories and mills lead to the conclusion that rather than addressing ethnic differences, we should focus on policies that will be relevant to the occupational and educational situation of these working-class women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We need policies that will counter the low wages in industries where women work and that will reverse trends to continually divide and deskill women's work. In this regard, it is necessary to support efforts to change the tariff regulations in order to reduce the volume of value-added goods that are now being imported under Tariff 806.00 and 807.00. Policies that encourage low-wage industries to move production abroad seem only to force the historical pattern of women's work on women in Taiwan, Korea, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. The decline of textiles, apparel, and electronics firms in the United States will force European ethnic women into service jobs that probably will not better their pay or working conditions.

We need policies that will attack the sex-segregated nature of industrial production. This is slowly beginning to happen through affirmative action programs in male jobs such as welders, machinists, and electricians, but there seem to be no trends in the opposite direction of making "women's jobs" attractive to men (which would, of course, mean higher wages and better conditions).

Since many women industrial workers are married and have children, we need better policies to fit the dual-worker family situation. Most married women are coping with their two roles by: (1) working a different shift than their husbands so the husbands take over some childcare and household responsibilities, (2) using relatives or members of their own ethnic group as paid babysitters, or (3) doing the domestic work themselves and essentially holding two full-time jobs. There are programs that would alleviate some of the strains on dual-worker wives and mothers. One is a nationwide daycare program, which would provide inexpensive daycare and be geared to the needs of ethnic women (i.e., provide the kind of cultural and linguistic setting that a woman of the same ethnic group can provide, as well as a low child/caretaker ratio so that women will feel their children are being well cared for). The community care centers proposed in the conference recommendations would be a beginning, but they would have to be implemented on a wide basis to reach large numbers of ethnic women. Daycare must be close to home or work, inexpensive, and of high quality for working-class women to use it.

Many recent immigrant women would like to learn English and acquire additional education and job skills, but this is virtually impossible for a working mother because of her obligations to children and husband after work and in the evening. Programs must reach women within their families, become available to them when laid off, and supplement their family income during training. Programs through churches and ethnic community organizations may have some success in reaching these hard-pressed women.

Conference recommendations concerning the workplace suggested that future research proposals address the issues of providing access for European ethnic women to training for jobs that will not be eliminated by technological changes and plant shutdowns and to programs that will provide information on job laws, the role of labor unions and how to participate in them, and women's growing involvement in the permanent work force. Such programs may help a few of the European ethnic women described in this paper, but they will not attack the central issue: low wages in jobs that are becoming deskilled, a problem that is exacerbated by the continued sex segregation of the work force. Retraining of women now in industrial jobs for work in the expanding white-collar and service segments of the economy will only force women to face the same situation in new contexts. Women who work as keypunchers or typists are also in low-paying jobs that are in danger of becoming deskilled and more automated. Funds spent for transferring women from the latter kinds of jobs to the former could be better used to raise wages and provide support services such as childcare.

These recommendations are not confined to European ethnic women alone. Asian American, black, Spanish-speaking, and Southern white women who work in apparel, textiles, and electronics industries face the same work conditions. Therefore, they have many of the same needs. Clearly, there are important cultural differences among Portuguese, Polish, and French Canadian women in New England and among these women and black and Spanish-speaking women in New England and elsewhere. These differences (in language, religious institutions, cultural values, patterns of cooking, etc.) can be preserved and ethnic associations can be used to implement new programs, especially those touching on family life. The pivotal issue is not the ethnicity of women in industrial jobs, but the nature of these jobs and the ways in which they can be upgraded and improved. These are the issues that demand attention.

NOTES

1. Since the 1965 Immigration Act, approximately 400,000 immigrants have been admitted to the U.S. each year, 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from Western countries. Mexicans, Philippinos, and Koreans are the three largest groups, but since the end of the Vietnam War there have also been substantial numbers of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians. Mexico has provided between 60,000 and 70,000 legal immigrants a year, mainly to Southwestern States and California. The Philippino immigrants have been more scattered, though many are concentrated in California (Pido, 1977). There are now perhaps 100,000 Koreans in the U.S., with 10,000 in Los Angeles alone (Bonacich et al., 1977). Increasingly, Chinese immigrants (from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and numerous overseas Chinese communities) have been centering in California, though large numbers are migrating to New York City (Sung, 1977). In New York, there are large numbers of Latin American immigrants as well. Chaney (1977) estimates that 150,000 to 250,000 Colombians have immigrated to New York City since 1960, and there are also many migrants from the Caribbean and Central American countries. These groups have also spread into New England cities, as have the 40,000-50,000 Portuguese immigrants who have settled primarily in southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

2. Research for this paper was supported by National Institute of Mental Health grant R01-MH27363 for a project entitled "Women, Work and Ethnicity in an Urban Setting," funded through the Center for Metropolitan Studies, New York.

3. Recruitment of women to these industries is the result of the complex interaction of capitalism and male domination whereby women have been excluded from higher paying industrial jobs through occupational segregation and have become a reserve labor force (Aronowitz, 1973). This stems partly from their position in the family as wives and daughters who can be regarded as secondary wage earners by employers. Women are paid lower wages and, as a result, are encouraged to marry and become dependent on men who can earn more. Historically, male domination in agriculture and craft production as well as in politics and religion was well established in preindustrial state societies. Industrial capitalists built on this structure, so that men were able to obtain and keep the more skilled jobs as industrialization proceeded; as a result, women became more dependent on men as production moved out of the home to the factory. Women workers are held in a vicious circle: they are secondary wage earners because of their historically subordinate position within the family, and they remain subordinate within the family partly because of the sex-segregated nature of the labor force, which restricts them to low-paying jobs (see Hartmann, 1976, for a historical analysis of this process).

4. In 1900, 25.4 percent of second-generation immigrant women and 19.1 percent of foreign-born women worked, while only 14.6 percent of native-

born women did so (Bureau of the Census, 1910). Of young women 16 to 20 years old, 66.1 percent of the foreign-born women and 54.1 percent of the second-generation women worked. In textile States like Rhode Island and Massachusetts, the proportion of immigrant young women (16 to 20 years old) reached 77.6 percent and 74.4 percent, respectively (Bureau of the Census, 1910). In other words, three-fourths of young women immigrants had some work experience outside of the home.

5. In 1900, occupations within textiles constituted the second-largest group of female occupations, after servants and waitresses (Bureau of the Census, 1910). In the textile industry itself, 42.5 percent of the workers were women (Bureau of the Census, 1910).

6. These generalizations are based on wage records from a Rhode Island cotton mill in 1915, available at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence.

7. Data from wage records of a Rhode Island cotton textile mill in 1915, available at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence.

8. Dee Rubin, graduate student in anthropology at Johns Hopkins University, collected the data on the French neighborhood. Most of the data on Poles were gathered by Christina Simmons, graduate student in American civilization at Brown University, with assistance from Sonya Michel, also a graduate student in American civilization at Brown University. Research of this type is difficult, time consuming, and tedious, and without the help of these three researchers, this material could not have been gathered.

9. This section is based on Dee Rubin, "French Canadian Working Families: Labor Participation in a New England Textile Center" (1978), and on oral history tapes that are part of the University of Rhode Island oral history archives.

10. Only 12 percent of the 108 households contained boarders, a much lower proportion than in the Polish neighborhood. Boarding families tended to be born in French Canada, as did their host families, indicating that boarding was a pattern associated with recent immigration. It was a family phase adopted until the couple or single person became better established in the new country, decided to remain, and encouraged the spouse and children to come as well in order to set up a new household.

11. By 1919, 54.3 percent of the silk workers were women 16 years or over, as compared with 40 percent in cotton mills. Female spinners, winders, warpers, and twisters-in filled 67.1 percent of these jobs, and 53.6 percent of the weavers were women (U.S. Tariff Commission, 1926).

12. The importance of homework is clear from Susan Benson's analysis of raw interview schedules from the Women's Bureau Report no. 131, Industrial Homework in Rhode Island.

13. Like the textile mills, these are labor-intensive, low-wage, sex-segregated industries that can capitalize on women as reserve laborers who have historically been excluded from higher paying jobs through the mechanism of occupational segregation and who, because of their presumed lower position in the family, can be treated as secondary wage earners.

14. In 1974, it was estimated by NACLA that only $50,000 was needed to set up a shop. Small shops still persist, and roughly half of the plants in the industry employ fewer than 20 workers.

15. The major unions are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). In June 1976, the ACWA merged with the Textile Workers Union of America to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

16. Eighty percent of the plant's labor force is over 40 years of age; more than half are married, and 71 percent have worked in the plant for 20 years or more.

17. Fifty-five percent of the sons and 70 percent of the daughters had white-collar jobs (Safa, 1978).

18. During 1977 I worked for 6 months as a trainee sewer for an apparel firm in Rhode Island.

19. Interview with L.M., September 13, 1975, University of Rhode Island, oral history project.

20. Oral history interview with Mrs. O., June 17, 1978, conducted by Ewa Hauser, Johns Hopkins University.

21. This section is based on two sources: Ann Bookman, "Social Relations of Production in an Electronics Factory: An Exploratory Study," 1974; and NACLA, "Electronics: The Global Industry," April 1977.

22. In negotiating for a contract reopener, the company remained as anti-union as ever and the workers voted for a strike. The long, bitter strike was eventually lost as the company moved some production elsewhere and as many workers found other jobs. After a back-to-work movement, the company led a decertification campaign that resulted in the deunionization of the plant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aronowitz, Stanley. False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

Benson, Susan P. "Industrial Homework in Rhode Island." In Industrial Homework in Rhode Island, Women's Bureau Report no. 131, analysis for project on "Women, Work and Ethnicity in an Urban Setting." National Institute of Mental Health grant no. R01-MH27363, 1977.

Bonacich, Edna, Ivan H. High, and Charles Choy Wong. "Koreans in Business." Society 14(6):54-59, 1977.

Bookman, Ann. "Social Relations of Production in an Electronics Factory: An Exploratory Study." Unpublished paper available from the author, 1974.

Bookman, Ann. "The Process of Political Socialization Among Women and Immigrant Workers: A Case Study of Unionization in the Electronics Industry." Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University Department of Anthropology, 1977.

Bureau of the Census. "Special Report of the Bureau of the Census on Women at Work: 1900." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1910.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. "A Socio-Economic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers." Regional Report no. 46. New York: U.S. Department of Labor, 1975.

Chaney, Elsa M. "Colombian Outpost in New York City." Society 14(6):60-64, 1977.

Hartmann, Heidi. "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex." Signs 1(3):137-170, 1976.

Hauser, Ewa. Oral history interviews collected as part of dissertation research, Johns Hopkins University, 1978.

Lahne, Herbert J. The Cotton Mill Worker. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1944.

NACLA. "Capital's Flight: The Apparel Industry Moves South." Latin American and Empire Report, vol. XI, no. 3, March 1977; 2d printing, February 1978.

NACLA. "Electronics: The Global Industry." Latin American and Empire Report, vol. XI, no. 4, April 1977.

Pido, Antonio J. A. "Brain Drain Philippinos." Society 14(6):50-53, 1977.

Rubin, Dee. Report on French Canadians, prepared for "Women, Work and Ethnicity in an Urban Setting." Manuscript available from Louise Lamphere, 1977.

Rubin, Dee. "French-Canadian Working Families: Labor Participation in a New England Textile Center." Paper prepared for Seminar in Atlantic History and Culture, February 14, 1978.

Safa, Helen. "Women, Production and Reproduction in Industrial Capitalism: A Comparison of Brazilian and U.S. Factory Workers." Paper prepared for the meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1978.

Sung, Betty Leme. "Changing Chinese." Society 14(6):44-49, 1977.

U.S. Tariff Commission. Broad-Silk Manufacture and the Tariff. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926.

IRISH, ITALIAN, AND JEWISH WOMEN AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL: A HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Kathleen McCourt

INTRODUCTION

The 1970's have witnessed some exciting changes in the focus of academic scholarship. A new attention to the lives of ordinary men and women in America's cities is reflected in the growing literature on the family, work, and community experiences of 19th-century immigrants and today's working class. Urban historians, sometimes joined by women's historians, are creating a wealth of new studies on early ethnic communities in such cities as Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and Jersey City (Conzen, 1976; Kleinberg, 1973; Shaw, 1977; Yans-McLaughlin, 1977). At the same time, sociologists focusing on women, families, ethnic groups, and urban communities have begun to enrich our understanding of how these communities have developed over time (Kornblum, 1974; McCourt, 1977; Rubin, 1976; Sennett and Cobb, 1972; Suttles, 1968).

Many new scholars in these areas employ a feminist and/or radical perspective, looking especially at how the social institutions of a capitalist and patriarchal America have defined in the past, and continue to define today, the parameters within which people live and function. New information on ordinary people's lives, however, also makes it possible to understand the extent to which women and men of the working class have been able to shape their own lives, preserve their own families and traditions, and build their own communities despite the strictures of the wider society.

This new scholarship is not respectful of established discipline boundaries; many researchers draw from two or even several traditional areas. Feminist historians and sociologists find themselves benefiting enormously from each other's skills and knowledge as they confront a common dilemma: the fact that little attention has been paid to the role of women in urban communities, either today or in the past. The existing literature has been largely limited to women in their family or employee roles; such information is frequently statistical in nature, giving little feel for the texture of daily life. Women's community activities, friendship patterns, and neighborhood involvement have been largely ignored; as a result, we have had only a sketchy picture of what women did, thought, or discussed. The new scholarship shows signs of closing this gap.

Since the various threads of intellectual and political thought come together to both form and react to current ideas, it should perhaps be no surprise that an academic emphasis on the everyday life of urban dwellers of the past (the immigrants) and of the present (the working class) coincides with a popular attention to the reemergence of ethnicity and the preservation of urban communities, which are the topics of this paper.

First, this paper develops a framework for examining the experiences of ethnic women in their communities. Then, using available data, the experiences of

Irish, Italian, and Jewish women as they moved from the status of immigrants to that of second- or third-generation American citizens are discussed. Such information is fragmentary, for many historical studies of ethnic groups pay little attention to women. In the second part of the paper, the focus is on contemporary urban communities in general and women's behaviors in them specifically. Urban working-class women of today, of course, are only some of the descendants of immigrant families; others, benefiting from upward mobility, have become part of the professional and managerial class and usually live in suburban areas. This paper discusses only the former group, concluding with some comments on the relevance of ethnicity in the 1970's and brief suggestions for policy directions.

This work is a beginning; it draws on available bits and pieces of knowledge, makes generalizations, and is often speculative. One assumption, however, appears to be irrefutably valid: just as the industrialization and urbanization of America's 19th century shaped immigrant women's daily lives, today's urban problems are shaping the lives of working-class women in their communities.

THE ETHNIC EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

Ethnic groups are the creation of a pluralist society. Before emigrating, most of those who came to the United States did not view themselves as members of an ethnic group.[1] If all those in one's experiential world are Italian, then being Sicilian or Calabrian may be important, but being Italian is taken for granted and is seldom a problem.[2] In the United States, ethnic groups were formed as people found themselves suddenly set apart because of their religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and language.

Social scientists have used different models to interpret the ethnic experience in America. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (1977) summarizes these in the introduction to her fascinating book on the Italian American community in Buffalo. The first, and for years the prevailing, view was that of historian Oscar Handlin and his students. These men argued that the transition from the Old World to the new was a trauma for the peasant immigrants, a trauma that eventually devastated their social institutions and cultural traditions. The family disintegrated, sex roles became confused, religious beliefs weakened, and the generations lived in tension; personal deviance and social disorganization were the prices paid for entry into the society and a chance at the American Dream.

The more recent cultural-continuity perspective argues that ethnic cultures were not destroyed by the process of migration, despite the harsh treatment of immigrants. Social and cultural institutions survived intact, and today's society can best be viewed as an ethnic mosaic, reflecting those different cultural traditions.

A third, functional perspective has been argued by such sociologists as Talcott Parsons. This view claims that new social forms (for example, the nuclear family) replaced cultural patterns that were outmoded and dysfunctional for urban, industrialized America (for example, the extended family). Assimilation into the prevailing social institutions, while not necessarily traumatic, was inevitable.

Yans-McLaughlin herself argues for a fourth perspective, one that is neither dichotomous nor linear, but dialectical. This perspective acknowledges the ways in

150

which the social organizations of ethnic groups were forced to modify and adapt themselves to the new country, but at the same time recognizes how the groups managed to preserve traditional forms of those organizations that were especially important to them. Genovese (1976, p. 658) discusses the slave experience of blacks in similar terms when he speaks of the dialectic of accommodation and resistance "by which the slaves accepted what could not be avoided and simultaneously fought individually and as a people for moral as well as physical survival." For example, married Italian women abandoned an important norm if they entered the labor force, but in many families it was necessary to have more than one wage earner. Yet Italian women, whenever possible, worked as part of a collective unit, one made up of the immediate family, other kin, or neighborhood women. Thus, Italians accommodated themselves to the demands of the industrial economy but preserved what was to them most important: mothers being near their children and women not working unprotected in a threatening environment.

It is this dialectical perspective that is adopted here. The immigrants, out of necessity and often painfully, adjusted to the newly industrializing America. Herbert Gutman (1976, Ch. 1) tells the moving story of how the pressures of the factory system, the timeclock, and the dawn-to-dark workday threatened to destroy ethnic subcultures that had a different rhythm. On the 8th day after the birth of a son, Orthodox Jews in Eastern Europe had a festival; in the United States, if that day was a workday the celebration had to be postponed, a violation of religious tradition. In Pennsylvania mining and mill towns, wedding celebrations followed the Polish peasant tradition and continued for 3 to 5 days, until employees decreed otherwise. Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics shared the same jobs, but had different holy days, " 'an annoyance to many employers' " (Gutman, 1976, p. 24). In the face of relentless attempts to break down indigenous culture, the immigrants adjusted, but not all the unique components of the subcultures were destroyed. Indeed, it is astonishing that so much family and cultural tradition was maintained in the new environment of the factory system. Much of that preservation was due to incredible efforts by women, but the values and traditions chosen for preservation were not always the same for each group. Irish, Italian, and Jewish women came to this country under different circumstances and entered urban communities with different existing structures and resources. Each group adapted to America in its own unique way, preserving traditions, behaviors, and values of the subculture that persist to this day.

THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE: IRISH, ITALIAN, AND JEWISH WOMEN

Migration Patterns

The peak of Irish migration was in the 19th century, especially from 1840 to 1890, when about 4 million Irish arrived in the United States.[3] The major immigration of Italians, overwhelmingly from the south of Italy and Sicily, was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; in the years from 1881 to 1930, more than 4 million Italians arrived. Jewish immigration came in two major waves. About 250,000 Jews from Germany immigrated in the last half of the 19th century, coinciding with the arrival of the Irish. They were primarily city dwellers, many the children of artisans and shopkeepers. The later and larger wave of Jewish immigration occurred around the turn of the century: between 1881 and 1914, close to 2 million Jews arrived in the United States, almost exclusively from

Eastern Europe. These immigrants were poorer and had fewer skills than the earlier immigrants from Germany; it is the women from this latter group that are discussed here.

It is important to keep in mind the different times of arrival for the ethnic groups. The earlier arrival of the Irish in some ways made life especially difficult for them. As the first large group of poor, foreign-born Catholics to settle in the cities of the East, they were vulnerable to all the prejudices of the Yankee settlers. Nativism, anti-Catholicism, xenophobia, and fear of the "disorderly poor" were all directed first against the Irish. In urban centers, where large numbers of Irish were concentrated, as many as half of the native-born citizens might belong to the virulently nativist Know Nothing Party (Shaw, 1977). At the same time, however, their early presence in the cities and the fact that they spoke English gave the Irish some distinct advantages over the later immigrants, as shown by their early capturing of leadership positions in the urban political machines and the trade unions.

Immigrants from each of the three groups were trying to escape from different situations, but all shared the condition of being miserably poor in the old country. Each group lived under an economic and political system that at best offered them little opportunity for improving their lot and at worst persecuted them. Each of these immigrant groups also came from a culture in which women were subordinated.

Attitudes Toward Women

In Ireland, Italy, and the Eastern European countries, females were considered an economic liability. Each country had a dowry system, so the bride's family could marry her off only at some cost. While Jewish women in Eastern Europe and unmarried women in Ireland might work, Italian women almost never entered the labor force--in Sicily, "it was almost a crime for women to work" (Yans-McLaughlin, 1977, p. 42)--and so they were a further liability. In Italy, a girl's childhood ended early: "From the age of 7 girls were apprenticed in learning household skills, developing the qualities of womanhood under constant supervision" (Femminella and Quadagno, 1976, p. 67). Italian women married young, frequently in their teenage years, were expected to bear many children, and were unable to divorce their husbands.

In 19th-century Ireland, females were viewed as distinctly inferior to males. There were vivid reminders of that inferiority: females walked behind males, and women did not eat their meals until all the men in the family had had their fill. This latter custom presumably contributed to the high rates of poor nutrition, early aging, and early death among 19th-century women in Ireland. Women were also expected to help men with work in the fields, but got no reciprocal help with the heavy domestic chores; indeed, men would be ridiculed for doing women's work (Kennedy, 1973). Female children in Ireland were favored neither by mothers nor fathers, while sons were given preferential treatment, a custom that has carried over to the present in Irish American homes.

In 19th-century Eastern European Jewish homes, boys were also treated much more favorably than girls. As in the other countries, the birth of a male called forth celebration; the birth of a female, stoic acceptance. A female would eventually need a dowry, while "a male child would not only ultimately assume all the religious responsibilities of Judaism . . . he might even bring renown to his family as a scholar" (Baum et al., !977, p. 10). Little wonder the Talmud warned, "Woe to the father whose children are girls." Jewish boys were encouraged to study, and "no sacrifice was too great for their families to make for their education" (Baum et al., 1977, p. 61). Mothers pampered their sons, but expected their daughters to share in the housework and watch the younger children.

As in the Italian culture, there was no place in the Jewish community for unmarried women. To be an old maid was a disaster for a young woman and a source of shame for her family. Unlike women in Italy, however, Jewish women in the old country often assumed heavy economic responsibilities for the family. They frequently relieved their husbands of this obligation entirely so that the men might devote themselves to religious observations and study.

Different notions of sexuality, and especially of female sexuality, are evident in the original cultures of the three ethnic groups. The Irish had a remarkable capacity for denying human sexual drives altogether. Ireland had and still has the highest rate of postponed marriage and permanent celibacy in Western Europe (although, paradoxically, Irish married women have the highest fertility rate). While this is often attributed to the influence of the Catholic Church, one student of the culture argues the reverse. Sociologist Robert Kennedy (1973) claims that Ireland's traditional stem family, where one son inherited the family farm, necessitated the postponement of marriage, since fathers were usually approaching old age before the land was turned over. The Church, he argues, developed a set of normative restrictions to support a social institution that fostered late marriages. In any case, there are strong traditional barriers between the sexes in Ireland both before and after marriage, and same-sex companionship is the norm.

Italians, at least nominally of the same Catholic religion, did not deny their sexuality at all, but were preoccupied with the need to shield women from the lust of all men. This carried over into the New World, where Italian women were expected to stay at home, socialize only with other women and, if forced to work, work only under the watchful eye of "paesani."

Jewish culture showed yet another pattern. The Jews always recognized women's sexual nature. Indeed, the 16th-century code of Jewish law holds a husband responsible for his wife's sexual satisfaction and stipulates the number of times per week a husband should have intercourse with his wife (Baum et al., 1977). It varied by the man's occupation; the scholar was expected to satisfy his wife only half as frequently as the laborer.

Jewish culture placed less emphasis on protecting women from men than on protecting men from the sexual wiles of women. Women were viewed as temptresses "who could entrap even the most pious man and lead him away from God" (Baum et al., 1977, p. 8). Women were expected to hide their attractiveness; married women, for example, frequently cut off their hair.

Immigration Patterns of Women

Female immigration patterns also showed differences among the three cultures. The Irish rarely migrated as families; only 5 percent of this immigrant group were children under the age of 14 (Glanz, 1976). Those who chose to migrate were primarily single men and women who had no chance of inheriting the family farm and therefore had not married. Single women appear to have emigrated at least as frequently as men; census data show that in some years women comprised more than 50 percent of the immigrants (Groneman, 1978). Women chose to leave Ireland because prospects for marriage were slim, since only one son in a family would inherit the small plot of land and be able to support a wife and children. The alternative for the unmarried female in Ireland was to remain with her parents and brother as an unpaid servant. Even with marriage, she faced little more than a subsistence existence. Given the sex ratio of Irish emigration and the very strong tendency for immigrants to be endogamous, women leaving the old country were in no way assuring themselves of future marriage partners. The women appeared to be emigrating for other reasons, including the opportunity to be independent and to improve their standard of living.

Italian women, on the other hand, virtually never left their native land alone, unless they were to directly join their husbands who had already settled in the new country. Italian men frequently emigrated alone, but after a few years, wives and children joined them. Italian women, then, who immigrated arrived as wives, frequently as mothers, and were subject to many of the same role restrictions as in the old country.

Jewish migration tended to be in family units. There were, of course, exceptions; a number of Jewish women emigrated by themselves, usually to join a brother, cousin, or aunt already here. But Jewish immigration has been characterized as the most family oriented of all (Howe, 1976). One study showed that 25 percent of Jews arriving in this country were children under the age of 14 (Glanz, 1976).

Attitudes toward unmarried women and married women's roles differed among the three cultures. For the Irish, both in Ireland and the United States, being unmarried was not the stigma it was for Italians and Jews. The celibate state was considered quite respectable and, although not the most desirable according to Church teaching, it was without the taint of suspicion found in the other cultures. Even in very recent years, celibacy has been viewed by Irish Catholics as a vocation from God. Furthermore, while married Irish women were expected to stay at home and not work, there was no sanction against single women working. So it was without cultural disapproval that a single Irish girl emigrated alone in order to work and support herself.

All three cultures believed that it was undesirable for married women to work outside the home, although the strength of this belief varied. Among the Italians, as mentioned, it was almost a crime for women to work; among the Irish, it was a Church teaching that women not work after marriage; among Eastern European Jews, it was desirable for married women to be at home, but sometimes acceptable for them to work. In any case, the ideal turned out to be unrealizable for large numbers from each culture.

Occupations

Irish, Italians, and Jews did not opt for the countryside and farmland, despite the fact that the Irish and Italian immigrants were peasants who usually came directly from a farming environment. The opportunities for work were in the growing industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest, and this is where the immigrants settled. Those opportunities and the nature of available jobs varied a good deal from city to city. The heavy steel industries of Pittsburgh, for example, provided few job opportunities for women, while the varied manufacturing establishments in New York City provided many (Cohen, 1977). In all cities, women, then as now, got the lowest paying jobs. Within the restricted jobs available to women, however, different ethnic groups made different occupational choices.

Irish women worked in factories and mills but, most frequently, became domestic servants in the homes of the wealthier classes. "Servant girls rose at 5 a.m. and faced a workday of 16 to 18 hours in order to earn $1.50 a week" (Handlin, 1941). The Sisters of Mercy in New York taught girls the necessary skills, and between 1849 and 1854 they found jobs for over 8,000 girls (Dolan, 1975). Other religious orders provided similar services, so clearly this line of work was encouraged by the Church and the community.

Domestic service usually allowed young women to save enough money that they could bring other family members over from Ireland. One British observer notes how important this was for the young women, an "imperative duty which they do not and cannot think of disobeying. . . . One by one, she has brought them all across the ocean, to become members of a new community" (J. F. Maguire, quoted in Feldstein and Costello, 1974, p. 59-62). Between 1848 and 1900, the money sent home by settlers in America paid for at least three-fourths of all Irish emigration (Kennedy, 1973).

Domestic service also brought the future mothers of second- and third-generation Americans into intimate contact with middle-class American homelife,[4] which allowed them to acquire facility with the language and to pick up American attitudes and values. This undoubtedly made them better able than the more isolated Italian women to prepare their children for American society.

Italian women typically were much more isolated from the wider society. If possible, they did not work outside the home at all. They never accepted work as domestics; for an Italian woman to work under another man's roof would bring shame on her family. Economic constraints, however, frequently forced the women into factory or cannery work. Unemployment among male laborers was high, and even a 48-hour week only paid $7 to $12 in the years between 1890 and 1916 (Yans-McLaughlin, 1977). Typically, when women entered the labor force they were "recruited, lived and worked as family members under the close scrutiny of other Italian Americans. The Italian immigrants transformed the canning factories into communities where Old World social attitudes and behaviors could continue, maintained by kinship ties" (Yans-McLaughlin, 1977, p. 27).

The Italian wife played down her own paid work, not reporting it to the census takers or dismissing it as merely seasonal, and thus reinforcing the importance of the male as provider. Work was done with the family and for the family. Often it was done at home, and children shared in the labor. In some families, a son replaced the mother as the second wage earner as soon as he was old enough. School was considered far less important than each family member doing his or her share for the unit. It was only in the 1930's and 1940's, as compulsory education was enforced and fewer unskilled jobs were available, that Italian children began staying in school (Cohen, 1977).

Although Italian women suffered the miserable conditions of all factory workers, they did not readily join labor unions or even come to meetings. The meetings were held at night, and for an Italian woman to go out alone at night among strangers would have been a serious transgression of the community's moral standards. Husbands strongly resisted their wives getting involved in any activities outside the home, and many women concurred. Some, of course, did join unions and even organized strikes, but such actions were not taken lightly. Becoming active in unions meant admitting that they were a part of the labor force, and Italian women were often reluctant to do this.

Jewish women worked most frequently in the garment trades, often in small factories and sweatshops. As in the old country, young men were often spared the workplace so that they might go to school, while their sisters were sent out to work. Married Jewish women continued the tradition of sharing with their husbands the burden of supporting the family. One elderly woman, recounting her earlier life, tells a story of how her husband, "a wonderful man, a scholar, not a businessman," was going to be fired from his job as an insurance salesman because he had not made any sales. His wife, hearing this, took it upon herself to comb the community selling life insurance policies. She did a magnificent job and turned the sales over to her husband, who was then able to keep his job (Krause, 1978). This raises the question of whether she succeeded simply because she was a better businessperson than her husband or because she knew the community and her neighbors.

In the factories where they worked, many Jewish women practiced the socialist politics they had brought with them from Europe by joining and frequently organizing unions. The revolutionary political movements and socialist philosophy of the old country made many of these women far more conscious of their class oppression and far more receptive to efforts to change than were women from other cultures. Jewish women union organizers complained about the Italian and Polish women's lack of enthusiasm for unions and frequently expressed sentiments of distrust toward the women of other cultures (Kessler-Harris, 1977). This atmosphere of distrust among ethnic groups was exacerbated by language differences and consciously fostered by industrial owners and bosses (Kornblum, 1976), certainly as much with women workers as with men, although there is less documentation. In addition, the background of the less literate, less politically experienced women certainly contributed to the uneven political development of working-class women in factories.

Not all women went outside the home to work; married women in all three ethnic groups frequently took in boarders. Single men, for obvious reasons, preferred to rent a room and live among their own people until they could marry or bring their families over from the old country. Caring for boarders allowed women to contribute to the family income without neglecting their children or leaving their communities. Often this meant less income than the women could earn outside the home, but the sacrifice was made to preserve family stability. Boarders added necessary money to the family income. In fact, the absence of a boarder was frequently taken as a sign that the family was "doing all right." But taking in boarders entailed crowded home conditions and lack of privacy. A 1911 article in the American Journal of Sociology notes the case of a West Side Chicago family of five, living in four rooms, who had taken in seven boarders. This was not atypical. Frequently, adding numbers to such small spaces added tensions to family relations as well. The husband-wife-boarder triangle was a popular theme of Yiddish plays, novels, and stories of the 19th century (Baum et al., 1977).

Apparently many ethnic women, married and single, were unable to meet financial needs through any combination of their own and other family members' employment. Prostitution became common in the immigrant communities, just as it did in the communities of the Old West, where few men had wives, and just as it has now in poor neighborhoods, where few women have the skills to support themselves otherwise. Each community regarded prostitution as morally unacceptable and a cause for despair, but the prostitutes themselves often came to be accepted by many of the residents. They were, after all, women of their own ethnic group who usually lived in their own neighborhood. Jewish novelists depict a kind of matter-of-fact, though reluctant, acceptance of prostitutes (Baum et al., 1977).

Many women appear to have deliberately moved in and out of prostitution as economic necessity dictated. One study of a New York community in 1855, which found as many as one-third of the 2,000 interviewed prostitutes to be Irish born, also found that most had been prostitutes for less than a year, and many were mothers (Groneman, 1978).

Dangerous jobs in mills, mines, and factories led to the untimely deaths of thousands of immigrant men, leaving widows to support themselves and their children by whatever means possible. The alternative was having their children placed by the State in an asylum or orphanage (Kleinberg, 1973).

For common reasons but in varied ways, immigrant women helped to earn the money necessary for family survival. Of course, not all women were employed, and some who were not were severely isolated from the wider society. Language and social barriers limited their contacts, and some women literally never left their blocks. Nevertheless, they had their own community.

COMMUNITY, CHURCH, AND POLITICS

Community

A generation or two ago, residential communities were not as separated from other spheres of people's lives as they typically are today. Frequently, the factories or shops in which the men and women worked were not located far from home. Furthermore, certain work patterns overlapped with family activities. Caring for boarders, stitching, finishing work, flowermaking, or running a small family store were all jobs done at home and shared by women, children, and men.

Other family members tended to live nearby, so the geographical separation of the generations was not what it is today. Yans-McLaughlin paints an appealing picture of female culture in the Italian immigrant community:

> Grandmothers sitting on front stoops, gossiping, knitting, praying, and scolding and minding grandchildren along with general neighborhood business were a common feature of Little Italy's landscape. If they did not share their daughter's homes, many lived nearby. (1977, p. 66)

Ethnic women of an earlier generation were tied to their immediate neighborhoods for a number of reasons, perhaps most importantly because they had little leisure time and even less disposable income for recreational activities and voluntary associations. Many women's associations were formed in the 19th century, but these were largely limited to middle-class and upper middle-class women. For middle-class women, activity in these associations paralleled the new leisure time made possible by the introduction of labor-saving devices into the home. Working-class women, whose homes lacked running water, refrigeration, and electricity until the 20th century, had no such leisure (Kleinberg, 1973). (Obviously, the immigrant women who became domestic servants further freed the middle-class women from housework.)

In later years, of course, Catholic and Jewish women, like the men, were systematically excluded from many groups and voluntarily excluded themselves from others. Catholics growing up even a generation ago felt that they could not join the YWCA without jeopardizing their faith.

Nevertheless, the immigrants did join some organizations; ethnic associations, labor union locals, and most especially church groups were an important part of their lives and often served as major acculturating agencies. For many women, however, an occasional church picnic was the extent of their social activities; Irish and Italian women, in particular, frequently had no organizational life outside the Church.

Formal agencies, such as libraries and settlement houses, reached very few immigrant women, although their children eventually made use of them. There apparently was strong resistance by husbands to some of the "American" ideas characteristic of those who staffed the agencies:

> The attempts on the part of the settlements to individualize women conflicted strongly with the Italian male's concept of femininity. Italian men simply did not view women as leaders. Most of them disapproved both of emancipated women and of the democratization of the family. They felt threatened by the influence of female settlement workers upon their wives and daughters. (Yans-McLaughlin, 1977, p. 147)

Church

Catholicism continued to be as central to Irish American life as it had been in the rural villages of Ireland. The Church was the first priority; once it was established, it became the heart of the community (Greeley, 1977). Irish priests were available from the very beginning to serve their parishioners, and Irish orders of nuns were available to teach the children. Parochial schools were built as quickly as possible and often at great financial sacrifice. The Protestant Bible societies had close ties with the public school systems in some eastern cities, and one historian claims that Irish Catholics were not exaggerating when they viewed the schools as an extension of the Protestant community (Shaw, 1977). The parish church and school were, and still are, the center of community life in Irish Catholic neighborhoods, and there is little distinction in Irish families between church activities and community activities.

Religion continues to play a central role in the lives of today's Irish Catholic women as shown by recent figures indicating that 60 to 75 percent of adult Irish Catholic women in Chicago have been through the Catholic school system (McCourt et al., 1978; mention of the author's research refers to data collected under this grant). Even higher numbers are giving their own children a parochial school education.

Despite the liberalizing forces of recent years, the teachings of the Church continue to be taken very seriously. Irish Catholic women are more orthodox in their views on papal infallibility and abortion than are many other Catholic women. This strong allegiance to traditional teachings must be understood as part of a belief system that did not disappear with Vatican II. Similarly, an understanding of the important role that parochial schools played in protecting the faith of the Irish in an otherwise hostile environment can help explain their continued importance today.

Italian Catholics followed a different model. Since Italy was a one-religion country, "its religion and culture stood in easier and more relaxed relationship with one another" (Greeley, 1977), and this more relaxed stance continued in America. Church, priests, and parochial schools were less important than feast days and festivals. Of course, the Irish domination of the American Catholic Church by the time the Italians arrived did not make Italians particularly comfortable with the institution.

Today, festivals and other celebrations of Italian heritage are more popular than ever in some cities. In the Italian community of St. Louis, for example, they are now major fundraising events. Receipts allow the local community group to buy and rehabilitate property in the area, and, as a result, young married couples are returning to the community and residents have a new pride in their ethnic identity (O'Leary and Schoenberg, 1976).

Italians have persisted in being less orthodox in their religious beliefs than the Irish and less committed to parochial education. Fewer Italian women are convinced of papal infallibility, and only between 20 and 45 percent of Chicago's Italian women have had a parochial school education; about half are sending their own children to parochial schools. Even though this is a notable increase in the number of Italian Catholic children being educated in parochial schools, it is still far short of the number of Irish (possibly reflecting the fact that the American Church continues to be dominated by the Irish).[5]

Italians may have had less need for the Church because they had less need to create a community; family relationships fulfilled most of their needs. According to some scholars, Italians were so accustomed to depending on the single social unit of the family that they neglected to develop strong communitywide institutions. Even in recent years, they seem to have neglected the development of local organizations that can reach successfully outside the community and negotiate with the wider world. Sociologists who have studied the Italian community in Boston claim that this is one reason why Italian residents of the West End were unable, as late as the 1950's, to mobilize themselves against urban renewal's destruction of their homes (Granovetter, 1973; Gans, 1962). True or not, it does seem noteworthy that Italian communities, along with black communities, have been frequent targets of such demolition (Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968; see also Studs Terkel's interview with Florence Scala in Division Street America).

The Jewish community generally developed a more extensive network of organizations than did the Catholic groups. The earlier immigrants from Germany had successfully established themselves as part of middle-class America by the time the Eastern Europeans arrived. These middle-class women, like others in America, founded women's associations around the turn of the century; the National Council of Jewish Women was started in 1893, Hadassah in 1912. Although these local organizations were coordinated at the national level, their programs have served Jewish women at the community level.

The already established German Jewish community feared that the arrival of their co-religionists who were poor and uneducated might precipitate an increase in anti-Semitism and thus make life more difficult for them. Nonetheless, they assumed a good deal of responsibility for making the settlement process less painful for the new immigrants.

> The immigrant Jewish girl traveling alone and the immigrant Jewish woman with her worldly possessions tied into bundles and her young children in tow often had their first contact with the women of the American Jewish community as they stepped off the boat. (Baum et al., 1977, p. 165)

The older, established Jewish women offered assistance in dealing with the bureaucracies, finding housing, and locating relatives. Nevertheless, "no matter the noble sentiments that may have motivated her activity--and these, too, were suspect—the uptown lady was an intruder, sometimes welcome but more often not, in the lives of the immigrant women" (Baum et al., 1977, p. 179).

Politics

The Irish, as is well known, moved quickly into urban politics. Jews and Italians were slower in gaining political power, but they too are now visible in city councils, statehouses, and Congress. A recent study by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs found continued overrepresentation of Protestant members in Congress: more than 25 percent of Representatives and Senators were either Episcopalians or Presbyterians, denominations that comprise about 3 percent of the population (Littlewood, 1976). However, Irish Catholics were also heavily represented, and Jews and Italians had more representation than most other ethnic groups.

But the politicians have been almost exclusively men. Ethnic women in the 19th century had no vote and therefore no direct political power. Even today, ethnic representatives include very few women. A recently published study traces the status of women in one 20th-century urban political organization, the Daley machine in Chicago, and comes to the conclusion that women "have no status, never have had status, and will not attain status" (Porter and Matasar, 1974).

However, even though women have not held formal positions within the political system, they have been involved in political behavior. Behavior directed toward redistributing power and resources or changing public policy is political behavior, although it may not be defined as political even by the participants themselves.[6] The historical and continuing efforts on the part of working-class women to solve the problems of unsafe job conditions and low wages is political behavior. The names of some women active in such workplace organizing activities have come down to us, but numerous others have been lost to history.[7] Community issues, too, have involved countless numbers of unknown women in political struggle. Indeed, distinctions are sometimes difficult to make between workplace and community activism in the 19th century because the two realms of life were so closely integrated.

Examples from history, although spotty, suggest that when women felt their families and communities to be in jeopardy, they stepped out of traditional roles and took whatever action was necessary for communal survival. In 1902, a mass demonstration against meat prices on the Lower East Side of New York was led by Jewish women. "The nation's financial metropolis saw angry immigrant women engage in seemingly archaic traditional protest," says Gutman (1976). "Outsiders could not understand its internal logic and order. These women did not loot . . . they punished. Custom and tradition that reached far back in historical time gave a coherence to their rage." Tenants associations were formed, and rent strikes were carried out by Irish, Italian, and Jewish women (Seller, 1976). In 1910, Buffalo's Italian women, supporting their striking husbands, led protest delegations to the offices of the mayor and the chief of police. "The women's goal was bread, not power. . . . The political goal of the strike, a closed shop, did not concern them; their children did" (Yans-McLaughlin, 1977, p. 250).

More recently, the prominent role of women in the Chicago stockyards strike of 1921 and the housing riots after World War II has been examined (Hirsch and Pacyga, 1977). In the 1921 strike, they battled the police in the streets of their neighborhood and were blamed as the instigators of violence. On Chicago's South and West Sides after World War II, ethnic women played a major role in attacking the black families who were the first to integrate the public housing projects. Housing officials who believed they would circumvent resistance by moving the black families in during the day when the men were at work were taken by surprise by the women's behavior.

There is, then, evidence that ethnic women have on numerous occasions been political activists. Their activism, like men's, has taken different political directions, sometimes espousing progressive causes, sometimes reactionary. However, examples are not easy to come by. Two Chicago historians suggest that history has recorded so little of ethnic women's community activism precisely because those actions were taken in defense of neighborhoods and families. Since these were communal rather than individualistic actions, participants were not especially visible (Hirsch and Pacyga, 1977).

CHANGING ROLES: THE CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC WOMAN IN HER ENVIRONMENT

Urban Communities Today

Urban communities of the 1970's are not like those of 100 or 50 years ago, and in many respects that is for the better. Although communities of the past are frequently romanticized as havens of warmth and security, the harsh realities of daily life must certainly have left limited space for nurturing the spirit. Even some of the apparent strengths of those earlier communities were not without their dark side. Certainly there was a communal code of expectations for behavior and adult roles that spared residents some of the postindustrial anxieties of making life decisions, but at what cost to the freedom of individuals, especially females? How many young people of the second or third generations had to leave the narrow confines of the home and community in order to pursue a way of life more suited to their individual needs and wishes? The new urban communities of high rises and condominiums, although characterized by many as alienating anti-neighborhoods, appear to be precisely the kind of environment in which some individuals feel most able to pursue their own lives in their own ways.

However, the increasing attractiveness of working-class neighborhoods in many big cities suggests that large numbers of people, working class and middle class, are finding the old ethnic neighborhoods to be just what they want. Some of the attractiveness, of course, derives from the possibility of obtaining solid housing at reasonable prices, but these communities may be desirable to some for another reason as well: they represent the romance and the reality of "a real neighborhood."

In the first decades of this century, sociologists from the University of Chicago designated ethnic enclaves, along with slums, red-light districts, and upper class neighborhoods, as "natural areas" (Zorbaugh, 1929). They used this term to designate the final products of the uncontrolled ecological processes of expansion, competition, invasion, and succession. The inability of the poor to compete for the choicest land would relegate them to the oldest, least desirable areas of the city, and people of similar class, race, and ethnicity would congregate, eventually creating homogeneous communities. These neighborhoods would often be separated from adjacent natural areas by such boundaries as rivers, railroad tracks, and major thoroughfares.

Today, of course, it is widely acknowledged that the development of such areas in the past was not altogether "natural." Neighborhoods segregated by race and class were formed then as they are today, as the result of discrimination, Government policies, and decisions made by the private sector with respect to home construction, real estate speculation, and money-lending practices. As a

162

result of just such decisions made by Government officials and capitalists of the 19th and early 20th centuries, urban neighborhoods that today have some stability and resources are struggling to survive.

The movement of the white middle class either to the suburbs or to the bank for funds to convert old dwellings into expensive townhouses hurts the tax base of the city in the first instance as it lays claim to scarce solid housing in the second. At the same time, there are still racially closed housing markets in the suburbs, deteriorating housing in the central city, and little construction of moderate-income replacement housing. This perpetuates the familiar pattern of white working-class neighborhoods forced to respond to the pressures exerted upon them by both the actions of the upper middle class and the desperation of poor and working-class blacks. In some cases, that response has become politically and tactically sophisticated, targeted on the institutions that are the true culprits in urban decay. In too many other cases, the response has been shortsighted and, motivated by racial fears and the panic of potential loss, has resulted in attacks on those who are victims and should be allies. White ethnic neighborhoods, like black neighborhoods, are being hurt by high unemployment, air pollution, dwindling city services, and skyrocketing increases in the rate of taxes and the cost of necessities.

Despite the fact that ethnic communities and urban slums did not spontaneously generate themselves, there was an element of naturalness about those earlier communities that is absent from many urban neighborhoods today. Residents in earlier times probably were not very self-conscious about their neighborhoods. They lived where they had to or where others like them lived. The neighborhood had its good and its bad qualities. Some families did aspire to move out, but for most the neighborhood was just home, the place where they assumed they would live out their lives.

In contrast, many people in urban communities today are quite self-conscious about their neighborhoods. The real estate and banking institutions have made residents painfully aware of "trendy" neighborhoods, appreciating housing areas, and poor-investment locales. In addition, urban residents themselves are aware of how very fragile neighborhoods often are; increasingly they realize the active and defensive postures that they must maintain to ensure the continued viability of their neighborhoods (Suttles, 1972). There is nothing "natural" about either neighborhood survival or neighborhood demise; the fate of the community is in the hands of relevant actors. The vast amount of citizen effort that goes into organizing block clubs, neighborhood councils, safety campaigns, housing rehabilitation, block parties, and neighborhood cleanup days attests to the extent to which the urban neighborhood today is a self-conscious social construct.

One aftermath of Watergate and Vietnam was the plummeting rate of citizen trust in the Government's willingness to do good or ability to do well (Nie et al., 1976; see also any of several public opinion polls). As trust declined, people increasingly felt that if they wanted something done, they would have to mobilize their own resources and collective will to do it. It was once the position of the political right that people were better off doing for themselves. But the political center and left have also moved away from trust in Government programs as a panacea, both because the Federal Government in recent years has not been perceived as one that gives priority to the interests of ordinary people and because, regardless of the party in power, community control and local accountability have become preferable to reliance on distant, frequently cumbersome, and narrowly rational bureaucracies.

In any case, the movement for neighborhood action, like so much on the political scene today, defies simple political labels. There are real and potential dangers when a community moves toward local control and self-interest; there are possibilities of vigilante tactics, tax campaigns that promise simple solutions, restrictive housing covenants, and behavior on the part of nonelected individuals who are accountable to no one. One of the major tasks confronting community organizers and leaders today is to yoke the activist politics of grassroots people to a vision that transcends a narrowly defined self-interest and looks to the good of the wider political body.

With these reservations in mind, the neighborhood or community action movement is an important and fundamentally positive development. As members of community groups, some citizens have at least had a voice in political decision-making, an experience many had feared was lost in a system they felt was no longer democratic. Barbara Mikulski (1972) refers to citizen action groups as "one of the bright hopes of the country."

In Chicago, community groups have been instrumental in making utility companies act more responsibly, in keeping urban renewal projects from destroying neighborhoods of solid housing, in exposing some of the more flagrant abuses by insurance companies, and in reversing the process of urban disinvestment by lending institutions. Similar efforts are being waged by community groups in other cities. In all of them, women are central and crucial actors; they are the fighters, the ones who really care about the community (McCourt, 1977; Brightman, 1978).

There are also signs that women in ethnic communities are beginning to express their concern about their own lives and their personal needs for more education, information about job possibilities, better and more affordable health care, and the individual therapy, family counseling, and emergency shelter care that are sometimes needed. Examples of viable groups established explicitly to address the needs of neighborhood women are few, but their very existence suggests exciting possibilities.[8]

Not only are today's urban residents far more conscious of the efforts needed to ensure the survival of their urban neighborhoods, but they also realize the limitations of their communities and what they offer. Urban communities of today have been characterized as "communities of limited liability" (Janowitz, 1967), residential centers that fill certain delimited needs. For many people, attachment to the community is not so strong that they are not willing to pick up and move when other needs (career, education, a bigger house) become more pressing.

Much of what we know about neighborhoods and their residents, however, suggests that the "community of limited liability" is more typical of the middle class than the working class and probably more characteristic of men than women. Several sociological studies point to the severe emotional trauma that working-class women experienced when they left neighborhoods that had for many years been home. Marc Fried (1963), studying a group of Italians in Boston who were forced to relocate when urban renewal destroyed their homes, found their reactions comparable to the grief caused by the death of a loved one. Many women, as well as men, experienced feelings of helplessness, anger, depression, and a range of somatic disorders. The strength of the grief reaction was found to be a function of prior commitment to the area; women who liked the area very much, knew the area well, and had close friends living in the community experienced the most severe reactions. Moreover, the feelings lasted; 2 years after leaving, over one-quarter of the women still felt very sad or depressed.

Irving Tallman (1969) found similar distress signals among working-class urban women (of unreported ethnicity) who moved from the city to the suburbs. Feelings of isolation, a sense that there was no one to turn to in time of crisis, and tension with their husbands all increased after the move. Women have expressed the wish that they might die before having to move from the neighborhood in which they had lived for so long. Working-class women, especially those who are employed, have more problems and get less help with those problems than working-class men or middle-class women. What help they do get comes from relatives or neighbors; they seldom seek help from professionals such as doctors or counselors (Warren, 1975). Little wonder the loss of community is a source of distress.

Of course, not all women are so attached to their neighborhoods. As in the old days, there are families that aspire to move out and "better" themselves. However, often surprising to middle-class observers, there are families who, though they have the usual wishes to increase their income, have no wish to leave their neighborhoods.

Ethnicity in the 1970's

The above discussion of working-class communities today did not deal with the ethnicity of the women who live in those communities, for information on the ethnic makeup of individuals in communities is not easy to find. Census data are available only to the second generation; beyond that, information on ethnicity is omitted, and information on religious affiliation is lacking altogether. Perhaps information on such ascriptive criteria is no longer relevant. Perhaps the Government's collection of such data would harbor more negative than positive potential. The absence of such data, however, makes it difficult to either disprove the relevance of ethnicity or suggest its importance.

Urban community history has often been synonymous with the history of ethnic groups, but there are questions about such parallels today. Most large urban centers, reflecting a dual housing market, have neighborhoods that are solidly black or Hispanic. For the residents of these neighborhoods, to be sure, the urban experience remains an ethnic one. Their families are constantly in contact with people of their own race and cultural background, and they are most often treated by the wider society not as individuals but as members of an inferior ethnic group. This is no longer the case in white neighborhoods. Historians contend that urban neighborhoods were seldom homogeneous; they certainly are not today, for descendants of Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, and German settlers share neighborhoods with each other and with more recently arrived Greeks, Koreans, and Russians. Indeed, statistics show that a sizable number of white urban dwellers share neighborhoods with black families as well.[v] And, of course, the wider society does not usually respond to white Anglos in terms of their ethnicity. In such circumstances, how important is ethnicity for white Americans who live in cities?

In one sense, it is not very important at all. There is no evidence that a majority of the white, non-Hispanic individuals beyond the second generation interpret much of their daily experience in ethnic terms (although they often use racial terms in interpreting those experiences). Although there are times in the life cycle when deep ethnic traditions may emerge (at marriage, birth, and death, for instance), the experiences of most white ethnic Americans would probably lead them to deny that ethnicity persists as the cultural prism through which they interpret reality. However, in other ways the ethnic experience has been and continues to be both real and important.

First, Americans are products of particular ethnic histories, and there is a good deal of evidence suggesting that residuals of those histories continue to shape individual behavior today. Why, for example, do the Irish get involved in electoral politics more than other groups? Why have Jews maintained a special emphasis on the intellectual development of their young? Why do Irish, Italian, and Jews respond differently to illness and pain? Why do Eastern Europeans seem most reluctant to leave a neighborhood when it goes through racial change? Why do family ties appear to be more important to Catholics and Jews than to Protestants? Much, if not most, of this residual ethnic impact does not operate at the conscious level as an ethnic phenomenon, but an ethnic influence still persists.

Second, ethnicity is a salient group characteristic in some situations for some groups. As several sociologists have noted, people sharing an ethnic identity are able to come together as a concrete special-interest group under certain conditions and make demands (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Yancey et al., 1976). When Jews throughout the country organized to stop the march of the Nazis through the village of Skokie or when Italians formed their own antidefamation league to protest the negative stereotypes appearing in the media, they were acting in such a way. These are also examples of the mobilization of ethnic communities that are not residential communities. Individuals who share an ethnic background share a set of concerns despite the fact that they do not share a neighborhood. The interpretations of selected events in ethnic terms is a persisting reality, a part of the American experience.

Third, the ethnic experience is being reproduced today for other, more recent immigrants, not just Mexicans and Puerto Rican migrants to the mainland, but also Greeks, Syrians, Pakistanis, Vietnamese, and West Indians. Ethnicity as a variable that orders the American experience, then, has not disappeared, although it has become far less important for many of European heritage. The parallels between the experiences of earlier immigrant groups and those of today's immigrants are often striking, despite the passing of a century. As an example, a Korean friend tells me that young Korean women working in factories in Chicago are subject to sexual abuse and exploitation, of which they seldom complain for fear of losing their jobs. The diaries and letters of young immigrant women working in the factories of the newly industrialized 19th-century America are filled with similar tales (Bularzik, 1978). In the garment district of Los Angeles today, illegal home work and sweatshops proliferate, and over 90 percent of the labor force, largely

Mexican women, is unorganized (Schlein, 1978). This ethnic, class, and sexual exploitation is comparable to that experienced almost 100 years ago by Jewish and Italian women on New York's Lower East Side.

Finally, the ethnic experience is this country's working-class history, the history of the struggles of today's grandparents and great-grandparents as they survived the transition from the old country to the new, organized labor unions, and established communities. Ethnic history remains working-class history, although some from those ethnic groups have become professionals and corporate executives. A sociology that focuses on the relationships between the dominant and the subordinate racial or ethnic groups is a sociology that examines relationships of class and power. A scholarship that looks at ethnic women is a scholarship that looks at working-class women. Such a perspective, combined with more empirical and historical work, should make clear which experiences have been peculiar to one cultural group and which have been the shared experiences of people who together occupy a subordinate social status. As Colin Greer (1974) has said, ethnic categories, while not synonymous with class, are an American variant of class; they reflect our unique history, one without feudalism or aristocracy and one where the process of industrialization was totally dependent on the massive immigration of an unskilled labor force.

This review is a beginning. It has attempted to pull together some of the studies, ideas, and data from sociologists and historians that tell us something about the present and past everyday lives of America's ethnic women. Many, many details of that rich history and its legacy remain hidden. As a friend once put it, we have studies of "street corner society" for men, but no comparable studies of "front stoop society" for women. Not yet. But I think they're coming.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are two areas requiring recommendations. The first is in the academic realm, addressing the gaps in the present state of our knowledge. The second is in the realm of policy, suggesting programs, directions, or strategies that, given the knowledge we do have, seem necessary.

Academic

There were several points in this paper where further analysis was stymied by the sheer absence of information. There is no comprehensive sociology of women and organizational behavior. Working-class women have belonged to unions, churches, neighborhood groups, and PTA's; middle-class women have joined civic organizations, professional associations, churches, and PTA's. Group memberships have varied by ethnicity as well as class. What are women's reasons for joining different kinds of associations? What are the mechanisms by which women get involved? At what point do women begin to focus attention on concerns that go beyond the neighborhood? Are there differences, as we would suspect, in the number and kinds of organizations that Jewish and Catholic women join? Why? Are the differences reducible to ethnicity? And a fascinating question: What have been the relationships among women in organizations, not only among members, but also among the women who volunteer and the women who are assisted?

The absence of data to answer a second question is obvious throughout this paper. What happened to the descendants of ethnic groups when they moved out of the cities and into the suburbs, when, for want of a better term, they became middle class? In what ways does ethnicity persist as a meaningful dimension in their lives? Do the Irish continue to use the parochial schools because of a continued sense of separate identity? Certainly the women active in the Council of Jewish Women continue to identify a strong ethnic base for their activism, although their concerns have shifted to gun control, the environment, and the Equal Rights Amendment. Italian students living in middle-class suburbs are active in ethnic youth groups; as they grow older their affiliation shifts to ethnic lodges and women's clubs. Why haven't these associations withered away by the third or fourth generation? What is the nature of the relationship between the working-class ethnics in the city and their middle-class cousins in the suburbs? What religious, organizational, or cultural threads tie them to one another?

Policy and Programs

Two kinds of community groups involving ethnic women have been mentioned: groups that are organized to deal with neighborhood or community issues, and groups that have been organized around concerns that women share as women. The problems that urban women are dealing with in the former are frequently substantial, affecting the survival of neighborhoods and the quality of community life. Since the roots of these problems are usually not local, a purely local solution is inadequate. Declining capital investment in central cities, high rates of unemployment, runaway shops in the Northeast and Midwest regions of the country, and inadequate housing are not problems that women in communities can solve by themselves.

Urban women should become a lobbying force for changing national budget priorities. The consequences of Vietnam and the continued exorbitant defense budget contribute substantially to the current economic crisis in this country. The remarkable lobbying efforts of women in Washington to gain an extension for the Equal Rights Amendment resolution shows the impact of an organized lobby. The National People's Action Coalition has also been effective in regularly lobbying Capitol Hill. Until the relationship between personal troubles and public issues is made clear and becomes a part of the agenda (to borrow an idea from C. Wright Mills), individualized solutions, inadequate to deal with the scope of the problems, will continue to fail.

There are few examples of groups organized specifically by and for ethnic women. In fact, there are so few examples of local groups that have successfully addressed the needs of ethnic women that some attention should be paid to the success stories. The successful organizations, like the National Congress of Neighborhood Women in Brooklyn and the Southwest Women Working Together in Chicago, should become models for other groups. Facilities, organizers, and funds could be made available to enable women to share their experiences with novices and train others in the skills they have developed. Lobbying, fundraising, organizing, and recruiting skills are partly learned on the job, but they can also be taught by those with practice and a record of success.

There are many creative ideas in the neighborhoods. Women Working Together, in addition to its regular vocational and academic counseling for women, runs such diverse activities as a policemen's wives group and discussion groups for elderly mothers and their middle-aged daughters. This last is certainly a female relationship to which very little attention has been paid, although most of us will eventually experience it from both sides. Any additional mechanisms for sharing experiences, ideas, and successful programs among groups would certainly be welcomed.

The fundamental need to help women become economically independent remains paramount. The number of female-based families increases every year, and almost all such families live in or near poverty. At least some additional women could escape homes where they and their children are abused if they had the resources to support themselves. Therefore, there is a need for training and skills development at the local level and for group supports and preparation for such new encounters as job interviews; there is a need to help women develop feelings of self-worth and self-respect. This can be done indirectly by helping women who are active in neighborhood groups to cultivate such new skills as speaking, research, and writing. In our study, we found many women who were thrust into unfamiliar situations by the urgency of their personal or neighborhood problems and rose to the occasion magnificently, emerging with a new sense of their abilities (see paper by Lowry, Wilson, and Nardelli-Haight). However, jobs are not plentiful now, and no amount of training or preparation at the local level will change that. Again, personal, individualized solutions must be coupled with more far-reaching political campaigns.

Janice Bernstein (cited in Seifer, 1976) tells of the particularly difficult situation of urban elderly people when a neighborhood goes through substantial changes, racial or otherwise. It is similar in other cities: the elderly, who are mostly women, do not have the resources or will, and sometimes do not have the necessary family or friends, to make a move. Moreover, such a change is often psychologically devastating to the elderly. Many simply do not want to move. In Chicago, elderly parents are moving back to the old city neighborhood after an unhappy attempt to live with their children in the suburbs. Their independence and their familiar church and stores turn out to be more important. The elderly are probably the most ignored ethnic women of all. What do they need and want? How are they to be reached?

There is evidence that social networks are still strong in urban ethnic neighborhoods; they can be used for recruiting and communication purposes. We found that middle-class women joined community organizations because they felt it was proper civic behavior and went to meetings after seeing public announcements, while working-class women joined community organizations because they had a concrete problem to resolve and they went to meetings when a friend, neighbor, or relative informed them and, frequently, brought them. Time after time we met women who said the reason they never went to a meeting or joined a group was because nobody ever asked them. The goals and programs of community groups and women's groups are a more substantial concern than the mechanisms for building those groups, but without the numbers, the programs flounder. How can the networks be most effectively utilized?

It is extremely important that Government representatives, organizers, or consultants working with such community groups be sensitized to the reality of ethnic differences. One neighborhood woman told me recently that a Government official, representing an agency from which she sought funds, was shocked at her suggestion that families from different ethnic groups raised their children in different ways. He accused her of making a racist comment; she claimed to be stating what was obvious from her experiences with Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, and Irish families.

The 1980's, it is said, will be the decade of the family. Certainly there are signs of new attention to and renewed feelings of warmth for that social institution. Irish, Italian, and Jewish women, like other ethnic women, have never lost their loyalty to the family. Perhaps the 1980's will be their decade too.

NOTES

1. The process by which immigrants from one society become ethnic groups in another society has been referred to as "ethnicization." See discussion in Greeley (1974, pp. 301-302).

2. Jews in Eastern Europe may constitute an exception to this generalization. They viewed themselves as distinct from the majorities in terms of religion, but were frequently viewed by the dominant groups as separate nationalities as well.

3. Figures on the numbers of immigrants are from Dinnerstein and Reimers (1975, appendix I).

4. Conzen (1976) makes this point with respect to German women who worked as domestic servants.

5. In 1970, when 17 percent of the Catholic population in the United States was Irish, 34 percent of the priests and half of the bishops were Irish (Greeley, 1977, p. 159).

6. For example: the early strikes among Lowell millworkers in 1834 and 1836; the Chicago garment workers' strike of 1910; the Lawrence textile strike of 1912; and today's attempts to organize the textile workers of J. P. Stevens Co.

7. See Sive-Tomashevsky (1978) for one example: the young Jewish woman who led the walkout of Chicago garment workers in 1910 was lost to history for 60 years. Only in 1976, months before her death, was she identified and her story recorded.

8. In addition to the National Congress of Neighborhood Women in Brooklyn, Southwest Women Working Together in Chicago appears to be such a group.

9. One study shows that only 2 percent of native Protestants live in racially mixed neighborhoods, but that between 10 and 28 percent of ethnic group members live in such neighborhoods (Greeley, 1974).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baum, Charlotte, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel. The Jewish Woman in America. New York: New American Library, 1977.

Brightman, Carol. "The Women of Williamsburg." Working Papers for a New Society, January-February 1978, pp. 50-57.

Bularzik, M. "Sexual Harassment at the Workplace." Radical America, July-August 1978, pp. 25-43.

Cohen, Miriam. "Italian-American Women in New York City, 1900-1950: Work and School." In M. Cantor and B. Laurie (eds.), Class, Sex and the Woman Worker. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Conzen, Kathleen. Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Dinnerstein, Leonard, and David M. Reimers. Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Dolan, Jay P. The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-65. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1975.

Feldstein, Stanley, and Lawrence Costello. The Ordeal of Assimilation: A Documentary History of the White Working Class, 1830s to the 1970s. New York: Anchor Press, 1974.

Femminella, Francis X., and Jill S. Quadagno. "The Italian American Family." In Charles Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), Ethnic Families in America. New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., Inc., 1976.

Fried, Marc. "Grieving for a Lost Home." In Leonard Duhl (ed.), The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

Genovese, Eugene. Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.

Glanz, Rudolf. The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations, 1820-1929. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Granovetter, Mark. "The Strength of Weak Ties." American Journal of Sociology, May 1973.

Greeley, Andrew M. Ethnicity in the United States. New York: Wiley Interscience, 1974.

Greeley, Andrew M. The American Catholic: A Social Portrait. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Greer, Colin. "As I Saw It Until Now." Speech prepared for the Chicago Institute on Pluralism of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, November 1974.

Groneman, Carol. "Working-Class Immigrant Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century New York: The Irish Women's Experience." Journal of Urban History, May 1978, pp. 255-273.

Gutman, Herbert G. Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America. New York: Knopf, 1976.

Handlin, Oscar. Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865: A Study in Acculturation, 1941.

Hirsch, Arnold R., and Dominic A. Pacyga. "Defending the Community: The Ethnic Woman as Activist." Paper presented at the Conference on the History of Women, The College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn., October 22, 1977.

Howe, Irving. World of Our Fathers. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

Janowitz, Morris. The Community Press in an Urban Setting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

Kennedy, Robert E., Jr. The Irish: Emigration, Marriage and Fertility. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Kessler-Harris, Alic. "Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union." In M. Cantor and B. Laurie (eds.), Class, Sex and the Woman Worker. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Kleinberg, Susan. "Technology's Stepdaughters: The Impact of Industrialization upon Working-Class Women, Pittsburgh, 1865-1890." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

Kornblum, William. Blue-Collar Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Krause, Corinne. "Urbanization Without Breakdown: Italian, Jewish and Slavic Immigrant Women in Pittsburgh, 1900-1945." Journal of Urban History, May 1978, pp. 291-306.

Liebow, Elliot. Tally's Corner: A Study of Black Streetcorner Men. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966.

Littlewood, Tom. "13 Catholics to Represent State in U.S. House." Chicago Sun-Times, November 8, 1976.

McCourt, Kathleen. Working-Class Women and Grassroots Politics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

McCourt, Kathleen, David Greenstone, Barbara Currie, and Alene Bycer. "Politics and Families: The Changing Roles of Urban Women." Report submitted to the National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Study of Metropolitan Problems, grant no. R01-MH23786-02, 1978.

Mikulski, Barbara. "The Ethnic Neighborhood: Leave Room for a Boccie Ball." In M. Wenk, S. Tomasi, and G. Baroni (eds.), Pieces of a Dream: The Ethnic Worker's Crisis with America. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972.

Nie, Norman, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik. The Changing American Voter. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

O'Leary, Timothy, and Sandra P. Schoenberg. "Ethnicity and Community in Historic Perspective." Unpublished paper, November 1976.

Porter, M. C., and A. B. Matasar. "The Role and Status of Women in the Daley Organization." In Jane Jaquette (ed.), Women in Politics. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974, pp. 85-108.

Rubin, Lillian. Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976.

Schlein, L. "New Sweatshops in California." In These Times, February 22-28, 1978.

Seifer, Nancy. Nobody Speaks for Me: Self-Portraits of America's Working-Class Women. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

Seller, Maxine. "The Education of the Immigrant Woman: 1900-1935." Journal of Urban History, May 1978.

Sennett, Richard, and Jonathon Cobb. The Hidden Injuries of Class. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

Shaw, Douglas V.. The Making of an Immigrant City: Ethnic and Cultural Conflict in Jersey City, N.J., 1850-1877. New York: Arno Press, 1977.

Sive-Tomashevsky, Rebecca. "Identifying a Lost Leader." Signs, summer 1978, pp. 936-38.

Suttles, Gerald. The Social Construction of Communities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Suttles, Gerald. The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Tallman, Irving. "Working-Class Wives in Suburbia: Fulfillment or Crisis?" Journal of Marriage and the Family, February 1969, pp. 65-72.

Warren, Rachelle. "The Work Role and Problem Coping: Sex Differentials in the Use of Helping Systems in Urban Communities." Paper presented at American Sociological Association meetings, San Francisco, 1975.

Whyte, William F. Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Yancey, W., E. Ericksen, and R. Juliani. "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation." American Sociological Review 41(3):391-403, 1976.

Yans-McLaughlin, Virginia. Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren. The Gold Coast and the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

FAMILY ROLES AND IDENTITIES OF SCANDINAVIAN AND GERMAN WOMEN

Carol Woehrer

INTRODUCTION: THEMES OF THE PAPER

This paper first gives a brief overview of the immigration of Germans and Scandinavians to the United States and then discusses the status of women in these ethnic families. As background for a description of the characteristics that observers of these groups find most outstanding, the socialization of children in German and Scandinavian families is compared.

Intergenerational and extended family relationships are then analyzed in the context of childhood socialization and the salient characteristics of the cultural groups. As will be seen, certain values and themes influence German and Scandinavian Americans throughout their lives. Following the analysis of extended family relationships is a discussion of the participation of German and Scandinavian American women in the wider society, for example, in organizations and occupations.

The next section discusses the relationship of family patterns and values to social issues and problems such as the employment of women, long-term health care, and the social integration of older Americans. Finally, the need for research on German and Scandinavian American families as well as on other ethnic families is discussed.

FAMILY CULTURE AND WORK

Understanding the educational and occupational aspirations and participation of women, as well as of men, requires insights into the family.

> Neither the business world nor the family world exists in a vacuum. Each is situated within a social and cultural context that contains the other, and, for a fuller understanding, each should be examined in relation to its total context. . . . Since both business and the family play so large a part in the life of most individuals, studying the way each influences and interacts with the other is especially important. (Rodman and Safilios-Rothschild, 1968, p. 313)

The number of women working outside the home has increased since the 1940's: by 1975, only 34 percent of American families had a working husband and a homemaker wife, compared with 56 percent in 1950 (Hayghe, 1976). In 1970, one-third of all mothers with preschoolers were employed (Waite, 1976).

Role Strain

Although more wives and mothers are employed outside the home, studies indicate that husbands and fathers are not significantly more involved in childcare and housework (Bahr, 1974; Walker, 1970; Mortimer, 1977). Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) note that employment of women is not constrained only by lack of equal opportunity in the workplace; these opportunities also require a redistribution of household and childrearing responsibilities.

The changes in identity and responsibilities of husband and wife are especially apparent in the dual-career family pioneering a lifestyle that runs counter to traditional family and cultural patterns. In dual-career families,

> [n]ot only are both husband and wife employed, but both are engaged in occupations having a number of qualities which distinguish them from "jobs." These distinguishable elements include: the investment of time and psychological energy beyond the confines of the work environment; extensive education, preparation, and updating of knowledge and skills; and emphasis on advancement. (Portner, 1978, p. 13)

When both husband and wife have careers, they encounter several sources of strain: work and role overload, identity anxieties that accompany giving up traditional responsibilities and taking on new ones, coordination of career advancement with family planning, limitations in time to interact with friends and relatives, and criticism from society and extended family members for not carrying out traditional family roles (Fogarty et al., 1971).

Ethnic Influence on Occupational Choice

Most research on work and the family has examined the impact of work on the family; few studies have looked at the impact of the family on work patterns. Andrew Greeley's studies of ethnic groups indicate that Jews and Irish Catholics are highest in education, occupation, and income of American ethnic groups, followed by British Protestants. Blacks and Spanish-speaking groups have the lowest family income, and the third lowest family income is that of Irish Protestants. Italian and Polish Catholics, who are primarily blue-collar workers, rank just behind British Protestants in average family income and ahead of all other Protestant groups. Greeley also found that Irish Catholic men are three times as likely as the national average to choose the legal profession. Jews are more than three times as likely to choose medicine, and they also overchoose the social sciences. Germans, both Catholics and Protestants, and Polish Catholics overchoose engineering. Jews and Irish Catholics are overrepresented in the biological sciences, but drastically underrepresented in engineering (Greeley, 1974). Thus, it is clear that cultural background transmitted through the family influences education and occupational choice.

Ethnic diversity in the United States offers a unique opportunity to study the influence of family patterns on social and occupational participation. Unfortunately, an immense amount of valuable data is lost because the United States population census does not indicate ethnic background. Greeley's survey research at the National Opinion Research Center examined the occupational participation of ethnic men, but there is little comparable research on ethnic women. One could guess that the occupational participation of women would also be greatly influenced by cultural patterns transmitted through the family. As an example of the ways in which ethnic values and family patterns vary and influence women's participation in the wider society, this paper will examine the values, family roles, and self-identities of German and Scandinavian women.

The German and Scandinavian American Family

Usually unmentioned in studies of ethnicity, German and Scandinavian Americans nevertheless have unique cultural heritages which have influenced their participation in American life. For many ethnic groups, the ways in which traditional identities and values influence contemporary life in the United States have been explored; to some extent for German and Scandinavian Americans, this exploration has not even started. Though German was the most often mentioned ethnic identity in the 1969 census (Billigmeier, 1974), perhaps less is known about contemporary German Americans than about people of any other ethnic background.

This paper, therefore, cannot take the straightforward approach of reporting research findings on one or more aspects of the lives of German and Scandinavian American women. Instead, it relates the themes arising in descriptions and research on German and Scandinavian cultures and families in their European context to the sparse research findings of studies that have included German and Scandinavian Americans. These comparisons rely mainly on the survey research of Andrew Greeley at the National Opinion Research Center. Reference is also occasionally made to the three-generation study of German and Irish Catholic women that the author is currently undertaking in the Twin Cities. Though the data from this study have not yet been analyzed, examples from the interviews complement other observations and research. To supplement the research findings, personal observations and those of other people regarding German and Scandinavian American families and characteristics are included.

Though German and Scandinavian Americans differ in many ways, in contrast to Americans of other ethnic backgrounds (for example, Irish, Italian, Mexican, Japanese, Polish, and black Americans), they are quite similar. Therefore, this discussion of German and Scandinavian Americans will be placed in the context of the broader range of cultural patterns found in American society.

IMMIGRATION

Germans have immigrated to America since colonial times, but by far the greatest number arrived in the 19th century. Between 1830 and 1930, 6 million Germans immigrated, 5 million before the turn of the century (Huebner, 1962). From 1830 to 1890, Germans accounted for over 20 percent of the total immigrants; in the 1850's and 1860's, they constituted 35 percent (Hawgood, 1940). As of 1910, there were 18,500,000 German Americans who were either foreign born or born of German parents, comprising 27.5 percent of the population at that time (Rippley, 1970).

The German migration was probably the most diverse, including Protestants, Catholics, and Jews as well as people of varied occupational backgrounds and different nations of origin. The early 19th-century migration consisted mainly of farmers and artisans, but after the Revolution of 1848, the immigrants included many scholars, artists, and humanists.

Among the Germans with a strong sense of group identity are the German Russians, who migrated from the German settlements near the Black Sea to Dickenson, North Dakota, and other communities in the Midwest (Billigmeier, 1974). Though many Germans have a sense of their ethnic identity through a German Catholic, German Lutheran, or Mennonite Church, most do not have a strong sense of being German. Following the world wars, younger German Americans' feeling of kinship with things German was undermined if not extinguished (Gleason, 1968). From 1917, the teaching of German was forbidden in many private as well as public schools, and many States prohibited the use of German in public. Joshua Fishman (1966) regards the linguistic assimilation of German Americans as "the most striking event of its kind in modern history." Though many German Americans do not have a strong sense of ethnic identity, many values, characteristics, and family relationships continue to be passed on from one generation to the next regardless of whether or not German Americans recognize them as part of their ethnic heritage.

The Scandinavian migration from Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark peaked somewhat later than the German migration. Many Scandinavian Americans still have contact with cousins abroad, and their identity as Swedish or Norwegian Americans is important both to them and to relatives in their country of origin. As of 1970, 5.2 percent of the foreign stock in the United States was Scandinavian, mainly Swedish and Norwegian (Lonoeus, 1973). As of 1900, 3 million Scandinavians had immigrated to the United States. As with the German migration, 1882 was a peak year, with 65,000 Swedes, 30,000 Norwegians, and 12,000 Danes arriving. As of 1900, the United States had one-fifth as many Danes as Denmark, one-third as many Swedes as Sweden, and one-half as many Norwegians as Norway. Two-fifths of the population of Minnesota was Scandinavian at the time (Nelson, 1969); Chisago and Isanti counties in eastern Minnesota are the most heavily Swedish regions in the United States (Carlsson, 1974).

While the cultures and family lifestyles of the Scandinavian countries vary somewhat, the language, family life, and political and economic systems of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are similar. Finland, however, is quite different, both culturally and linguistically. Only 8 percent of the Finnish population belongs to the Scandinavian linguistic group (Svalastoga and Carlsson, 1961). The Finnish language is related to the Finno-Ugric languages, which include Hungarian and Estonian (Haavio-Mannila, 1969). Research on Scandinavian Americans usually does not distinguish between the national groups and refers mainly to Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

Neither the German nor the Scandinavian family has been closely studied in the United States. However, studies of German and Scandinavian families in their native lands reveal interesting differences between them as well as changes in family structure which probably parallel changes in German and Scandinavian American families.

Family Structure and Women's Status

Family relationships can be analyzed from a number of vantage points. Perhaps the most important aspect is whether key relationships are lineal or collateral.

Closely related to this is the relative status of husband and wife in the family. American families vary enormously in the ways in which they are put together, in the roles filled by fathers, mothers, and children.

In lineal families, the key relationship is that between parent and child, and position in the family is determined by age and sex. This kind of family structure is most apparent in Japanese, Italian, and Mexican American families (Lyman, 1973; Osako, 1976; Gambino, 1975; Femminella and Quadagno, 1976; Alvirez and Bean, 1976). In the Japanese American family, the father provides leadership and authority. When he is no longer able to carry out his role as head of the family, his eldest son becomes its leader (Yanagisako, 1975). Although their families were not quite so structured as Japanese American families, most older, as well as many younger, Americans have grown up in lineal families, in which parents are expected to be models for their children rather than their equals. In families of Central, Southern, and Eastern European backgrounds, the father was traditionally considered to be the source of authority, and the mother was the center of the family (Lopata, 1976; Staples, 1971; Montiel, 1973; Stein, 1973; Kourvetaris, 1976).

In contrast to the lineal family, the key relationship in collateral families is that between equals. In the Irish American family, for example, the sibling relationship is especially important (Greeley, 1972). An analysis of Irish American fiction suggests that the ideal relationship between father and son is a comradely one. On furlough from the armed services, for instance, both Pete in Hamill's novel The Gift (1973) and Timmy in Gilroy's story "The Subject Was Roses" (1965) find it essential to get to know their fathers and establish a comradely relationship with them. Irish American women also sometimes mention the importance of gaining their father's approval and the new relationship that develops after they leave home and are successful on their own.

The woman in the lineal family, though often less respected, is not necessarily so. As the center of the family, the wife and mother often has a great deal of authority in running the household, managing finances, and making decisions regarding the family. However, as family members become influenced by educational, occupational, recreational, and social institutions outside the family, the position of wife and mother becomes one of less authority; she is no longer as qualified to offer guidance and support. As her children become more independent of her through involvement in activities outside the family, she feels a need to gain a new sense of status and identity through participation in the wider society. Whereas German and Scandinavian families were lineal both in their native countries and in the United States, both have been becoming more collateral, Scandinavian families more so than German.

The High Family Status of Scandinavian Women

Though the father was the head of the family in traditional Scandinavian families (Pihlblad, 1932), observers of 19th- and 20th-century Scandinavian families point consistently to the high status of women. As Barton explains:

> Feminism in Scandinavia came about not so much because of the oppression and helplessness of women there as from their strength and the relative freedom and respect they already enjoyed. (1974, p. 37)

In comparing Norwegian and Italian families in 1957, Gronseth found that Norwegian children saw their parents as more equal than did Italian children (1964). Eliot and Hillman (1960) note that in the mid-19th century, though Norwegian women were under their husband's authority, they had high status in the family. Because large numbers of women remained single due to the emigration of men (Kalvesten, 1955; Svalastoga, 1954; Janson, 1974), foreigners visiting Norway in the 19th and early 20th centuries were quick to note the strength and influence of Norwegian women, both single and married:

> The first among women of European nations to secure her "vote" and her seat in Parliament, the recognized authority in all social movements directly affecting home life, and the unafraid champion of her undoubted right to have a look in wherever the privileges of her sex are likely to be endangered, the Norwegian woman merits some special degree of attention. . . . She will admit with full-eyed candour that for her the trang towards motherhood and the home is the very essence of her being; yet, failing the attainment of those ends, she will make the best use of her many accomplishments to shift for herself. . . . (Daniels, 1911, pp. 39-40)

Rodnick notes the high equality of Scandinavian women in the mid-20th century. Men did not object to working under the direction of women; at both rural and urban social gatherings, men and women participated in the same social groups. "We never heard members of either sex criticize the ability of women to compete with men on equal terms" (Rodnick, 1955, p. 51). Comparing modern Finnish and Swedish families, Haavio-Mannila notes that Finnish women have the highest level of education, the highest labor force participation, and the highest proportion in parliament among the Scandinavian countries. However, Finnish families are more traditional than Swedish in the division of household tasks (1969). "The Swedish family looks like a happy companionship family" (Haavio-Mannila, 1972, p. 536).

While the status of women has been high in Scandinavian families, the structure of authority and responsibility in Scandinavian American families has not been studied. The emigration of men from Scandinavian countries left 20 percent of Scandinavian women single, but it is not clear what long-term effect this imbalance in the sex ratio had on the role of women in Scandinavian society. It is quite possible that women who immigrated to the United States may have had a somewhat more traditional lifestyle than their sisters who remained in Scandinavia.

The Influence of Traditional Roles on German American Women

Though researchers agree that there has been a rapid change in the German family toward an egalitarian model (Devereux, 1972; Schelsky, 1954), it is clear that German women, both traditionally and currently, have not enjoyed the high status of Scandinavian women.

> The majority of the families in Germany is still characterized by a more or less intense predominance of the husband. However, there is a little resemblance to the former authoritarian position occupied by the father in the older bourgeois and patriarchal type of family prevailing in the

> last centuries. The trend is to an equalitarian partnership-type of family in which the family life is no longer centered around the figure of the father. (Baumert, 1960, p. 203)

Most German immigration occurred at a time when the father was still a strong authority figure in the family. As in Germany, the German American family is undergoing change. In the current study of German and Irish Catholic families in the Twin Cities, many German grandmothers recall the authority of their fathers, whose word was final. Although, as discussed in the next section, German and German American fathers have a strong leadership role in the family, their word is no longer always final, and their authority is accompanied by reason and discussion.

Tasks, however, probably continue to be divided with the wife and mother, who is responsible for the home, laundry, and cooking. While the German American woman is no longer restricted to "Kinder, Kirche, und Kuche," the kitchen is still an important domain for many German American women, and the role of cook is central to their identity. The extent to which the kitchen was the almost exclusive domain of women is revealed by German American grandmothers' responses in the above-mentioned study. To a question about what kind of advice parents gave regarding married life, more than one German grandmother responded that her mother advised her to always have dinner cooking when her husband came home from work. If she should happen to come home late, she should put on a covered pot of water to boil so that it would look as though she were cooking. Had men participated at all in the affairs of the kitchen, they could not have been so easily fooled.

While the kitchen and household may not be as central in German American women's lives, cooking probably is still more important to them than to women of many other ethnic backgrounds. When our German family moved from Milwaukee to a non-German neighborhood in Minneapolis in the late 1950's, we immediately noticed the little time and attention mothers gave to preparing meals.

Though research findings on contemporary families are not available, other examples from my own and other German American families also show striking similarity to observers' accounts of 19th-century German families. An English observer at the turn of the century noted that German housewives of means supervised their servants so closely that the German maids could not compare with English ones in self-reliance and initiative. "They mostly expect to be told from hour to hour what to do, and very often to lend a hand to the ladies of the household rather than to do the things for themselves" (Sidgwick, 1908, p. 133). This pattern of working along with help was followed by my German American mother, who almost always worked right along with her cleaning lady and painted the trim while the hired painter did ceilings and walls.

At the turn of the century in Germany, this Englishwoman also observed the German housewife's attention to details. "Every housewife has dainty little holders for the handles of saucepans when they are hot. You see them, all different shapes and sizes" (Sidgwick, 1908, p. 133). Such attention to potholders would hardly surprise a fourth-generation German American who learned to walk by being enticed to fetch brightly colored hotpads in the shapes of pigs and cows and bonnets. Such meticulous housekeeping would also not surprise an Anglo-Protestant friend, married to a German American, who has commented on feeling uneasy whenever her in-laws come to visit because her housekeeping is not as careful as theirs. Like the turn-of-the-century observer, she has other ways she prefers to spend her time.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Patterns and variations in the socialization of children in German and Scandinavian families are related to the overall roles of parents. Studies of German and Scandinavian American families as well as of many other ethnic families are rare. However, Andrew Greeley's comparisons of ethnic groups indicates that the socialization patterns discussed here are at least to some extent characteristic of German and Scandinavian American families.

Reason and Reserve: The Scandinavian Mother as Disciplinarian

Studies comparing the socialization of children uniformly show that Scandinavian children and teenagers are not as closely controlled by their parents as German young people. The big differences in socialization in the two cultural traditions are a greater emphasis on reason in Scandinavian than in German families, nonacceptance of anger on the part of parents or children, especially in Norway, and the relative role of each parent in discipline and childrearing. Observers uniformly agree that the mother is much more important in discipline and childrearing in Scandinavian countries, whereas the father plays a central role in German families.

In line with their higher status in the family, Scandinavian mothers discipline their children while fathers are on the periphery. In a comparison of Norwegian and Italian families, for example, Italian boys saw the mother as a buffer between father and son, whereas Norwegians saw her as the disciplinarian and norm setter (Gronseth, 1964). Rodnick (1955) also found that Norwegian fathers considered bringing up children to be the mother's job, with the father backing up her authority.

Norwegian children are taught to guide their conduct more by objective rules than by personal authority (Gronseth, 1964). In comparisons of ethnic groups in the United States, Greeley (1972) also found Scandinavians to be among the lowest groups in authoritarianism. Consistency in disciplining children is ensured by the refusal to accept anger. Norwegian parents feel that children should not be physically punished, but what is wrong should be explained. Calmness and reason are central to childrearing.

> If a child does something bad, the mother should not hit it, but remain calm and explain what is wrong. . . . I think it is bad for parents to lose their tempers. (Rodnick, 1955, p. 29)

In accord with this emphasis on reason rather than obedience is Greeley's finding that Scandinavian Americans were lowest of the white ethnic groups studied in emphasizing the importance of obedience from children.

Although Norwegian children are gently corrected and scolded, they are seldom praised.

> You mustn't give a child too much praise or it will become conceited. I am absolutely convinced that it is better to criticize a child than to praise it too much. By criticism you help to change its behavior. When you praise too much, the child assumes it doesn't need to change in any way. (Rodnick, 1955, p. 29)

This causes a certain shyness in young children, some anxiety as they become adolescents (Rodnick, 1955), and self-depreciation in adulthood. Greeley (1972) found Scandinavian Americans highest in self-depreciation of white ethnic groups.

The Scandinavian emphasis on reason rather than obedience contributes to the independence that researchers and observers have noticed in Scandinavians and Scandinavian Americans. Greeley (1972) found that Scandinavian Americans highly value self-reliance and independence. As children grow older, they participate more in family discussions and decisions and become more free to determine their own activities and future. In a study comparing adolescents in Denmark and the United States, Kandel and Lesser found that American parents most frequently had an authoritarian pattern of decisionmaking, whereas Danish families had a more democratic model. Perhaps because Scandinavian parents do so much explaining throughout childhood, Danish parents had far fewer rules for adolescents than did American parents (Kandel and Lesser, 1969). As a consequence, Danish adolescents felt much more independent; they felt that their parents treated them like adults and gave them sufficient freedom (Kandel and Lesser, 1972).

Joint Parenting: Support, Affection, and Control in the German Family

Authoritarianism, or the tendency for parents to make rules without full discussion and input from their children, is relative. While American parents are generally more authoritarian than Danish parents, they are less so than German parents. Comparing German and American children, Devereux notes, "Clearly German children at the age of eleven or twelve are subjected to a great deal more affection and control by their parents than are their American peers" (1972, pp. 99-124). In another comparison of the two families, Becker remarks:

> Facing it boldly, I am prepared to say that German family life seems to me a kind in which parents have more control of children, through persuasion as well as command, than appears in the United States today. (1951, p. 18)

Paralleling these findings, Greeley's comparisons of white ethnic groups show German Catholics and German Protestants to be the two groups highest in emphasizing obedience from children (1972).

The German father's authority is not nearly as strong as it used to be due to the increasing participation of women in the work force during and after World War II (Lupri, 1969; Taylor, 1969; Baumert, 1960). However, German parents continue to have greater control over their children than American parents, perhaps largely because both parents are active in the childrearing process.

> In the area of parental role differentiation, our data showed the German father to be playing a significantly more active role in the childrearing process than his American counterpart, and especially so in the realm of discipline. (Devereux, 1972, p. 100)

Rainwater (1962) notes that German men are generally more intensely involved with their families than American men and do not have the tendency to temper this involvement that American men exhibit.

Andrew Greeley's comparison of German and Irish Catholics reveals similar patterns in German American families. German Catholic families tend to be more authoritarian and to give their children less independence than Irish Catholic families. At the same time, German Catholic children receive more affection and support from their fathers, whereas in the Irish Catholic family, the mother is the main source of affection as well as social support and encouragement for achievement (Greeley, 1974). Though data from the study of German and Irish Catholic women in the Twin Cities have not yet been analyzed, the interviewers' comments parallel Greeley's findings. Several interviewers noted that German fathers seem to have a very important role in the family, whereas Irish fathers more often seem on the periphery.

While in the Scandinavian family one parent, the mother, tends to be the disciplinarian, the German child tends to have two disciplinarians, mother and father. In contrast to the emphasis on explanation and a calm response to misbehavior in the Scandinavian family, the German family has traditionally placed less emphasis on reasoning and, though not advocating anger, has not inhibited its expression. As a later discussion of the extended family will show, both Scandinavian and German cultures emphasize independence for adults. The greater Scandinavian constraints on emotional expression and emphasis on reason result in a more independent character for Scandinavian adolescents and adults.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN AMERICANS AND SCANDINAVIAN AMERICANS

A visitor to a State like Minnesota, which has a large number of both Scandinavians and Germans, would have a hard time distinguishing between them, especially at first glance. Independence, hard work, straightforward honesty, and self-reliance have been emphasized in both cultural groups. German and Scandinavian neighborhoods are not as stable as Polish and Eastern European neighborhoods. Germans and Scandinavians are not as outgoing and witty as the Irish; both tend to be somewhat reserved, rather unlikely to take up a conversation with a stranger. Their families are not as closely knit as Jewish, Italian, and Polish families. Reserved, hardworking, independent, they do not seem particularly exciting or intriguing. A German getting to know a Scandinavian or a Scandinaviana German, however, may notice most peculiar behavior, completely unaware that the behavior is not at all peculiar, but common to millions with the same ethnic background.

The German Joy of Work

How often have my friends of Scandinavian background commented, "You either work all the time or you entertain and don't work. You don't seem to do both at the same time." As any good German American realizes, "Work is work and play is play." Ask a German American grandmother what important things she learned from her parents, and among them you're likely to find, "You don't mix work and play; you get your work done first and then play." As DuBois and Schweppe (1936) explain, the German ideal of the worthwhile life includes being able to enjoy many different kinds of things, to play hard and joyously, to work hard and live thriftily.

Rippley (1970, p. 228) has noted the many German proverbs related to the theme of work:

> Die Arbeit macht das Leben suss.
> Work makes life sweet.
>
> Sich regen bringt Segen.
> To get a move on brings blessings.
>
> Ohne Fleiss, kein Preis.
> Without industriousness, there is no reward.
>
> Erst die Last, dann die Rast.
> First the burden, then a rest.

O'Connor (1968) notes the persistence of the Germans, a persistence surely passed on in our family by a maternal grandmother whose favorite saying was "Can't means I'm too lazy." Greeley's research shows German Catholics to be highest of all white ethnic groups in emphasizing the intrinsic aspects of labor such as opportunity to use skills, interesting work, freedom on the job, and ability to help others (Greeley, 1972).

Scandinavian and German Communication

Both Germans and Scandinavians rank low in verbal communication. Listening is important to both groups, and both tolerate silence.

German folk wisdom is expressed in the following proverb:

> Viel bedenke, wenig sage;
> Deine Noth nicht jedem Klage;
> Hore viel, thu nichts Antworten;
> Sei Behutsam aller Orten;
> Dich in jedes Kreuz wohl schicke;
> So machest du ein Meisterstucke.
>
> Think much, say little;
> Don't complain of thy trouble to everyone;
> Hear much, give little answer;
> Be on thy guard everywhere;
> In every difficulty carry thyself discreetly;
> So makest thou a masterpiece. (Howitt, 1842, p. 63)

This old German proverb bears a remarkable similarity to the advice a German father in St. Paul gave his son when he started working: "I told him to listen and to watch carefully what others were doing, not to talk too much, not to be a wise guy or show off."

Like the Germans, the Scandinavians tend to place little emphasis on talk. Rodnick (1955) notes that Norwegian culture does not encourage articulation or the free flow of ideas. Norwegian adolescents do not speak up in class (Rodnick, 1955), and adults are reluctant to ask questions at public lectures (Eliot, 1953). The same hesitation to ask questions and make comments is common in the Scandinavian areas of Minnesota; people from other parts of the country who go to Moorhead State University to teach have found it difficult to stimulate class discussion.

Scandinavian Independence

The Scandinavian reluctance to speak up is accompanied by a reserve that may take even a quiet German by surprise. Scandinavians are perhaps the most independent of American cultural groups, private and reluctant to ask for help, or even to offer it without being asked. Independence and a love of freedom were included as Scandinavian traits both in the United States and abroad (Skardal, 1974). Emotional identification with other people is not a characteristic of Scandinavian culture (Rodnick, 1955). At a recent workshop on sociology of aging in Fergus Falls and Moorhead, the local ministers and employees in agencies and centers for older Minnesotans commented that it was difficult to serve the aging in rural areas of Minnesota because older Scandinavians did not express their needs and wants.

Rodnick notes that in Norway, young people do not often seek guidance from parents or teachers, but rather ask the advice of older friends or an adult who is not in a position of authority. Workers likewise are more likely to accept the suggestions of immediate supervisors, who are not in a position to discharge or reprimand them, than of those higher up. Describing the logging camps in Minnesota in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Ryan comments on the independence and pride of workmanship of the lumberjacks, who were mostly Scandinavian immigrants:

> Supervision in the lumber camps was carefully kept at a minimum, as workers resented too much supervision. Each man had his job to do and took great pride in doing it well without a foreman standing over him. (1975, p. 44)

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The same independence that characterizes Scandinavians also influences intergenerational and kinship relationships of Scandinavians both in Europe and in the United States. In *Older People in Three Industrial Societies*, Shanas and Townsend (1968) conclude that older people in Denmark live more independently of their children than do those in England or the United States. The number of parents living with their children as well as the frequency of help exchanged was lower for Denmark than for the other two countries.

This same independence of the generations is also found in Sweden and Norway. Norwegian farms, for example, are thought of as the home of one nuclear family, and grandparents still living on the farm constitute a problem since they have no clear role in the family.

> If the surviving grandparent is living with the family, his presence is thought of as strictly temporary and unimportant, since he will soon die. On the farm, the nucleus of parents and unmarried children is thus the functioning family. . . . Where the parents are still strong and active, the married son must seek temporary employment outside and live in a separate household, preferably at some other place. The farm is thought of as the home of one nuclear family. (Eliot and Hillman, 1960, p. 89)

Studies comparing the aged in industrial countries of Western Europe show Sweden's aged to be the most isolated of all, for they receive the least number of visits from children and friends (Faramound, 1973).

> . . . the isolation of the aged Swede seems somehow to be in keeping with the spirit of an almost totalitarian independence that characterizes the Swedish people. (Bozzetti, 1977)

This greater independence of kin is also apparent in the 1967 National Opinion Research Center (NORC) study of urban neighborhoods, which found that fewer Scandinavian Americans visit parents, siblings, and in-laws weekly than any other ethnic group. Scandinavian Americans were also one of the ethnic groups with the lowest percentage (14 percent) of respondents living in the same neighborhood as parents (Greeley, 1971). Only German Americans lived in the same neighborhood as kin less frequently than did the Scandinavians. German Americans, while not quite as independent as the Scandinavians, tend to be more independent than most groups. While 79 percent of Italian Americans, 65 percent of Polish Americans, and 61 percent of French Americans reported visiting parents weekly in the NORC sample, 48 percent of the German Catholics and 44 percent of the German Protestants visited parents weekly. German Protestants, then, ranked almost as low as Scandinavians, 39 percent of whom visited parents weekly (Greeley, 1971).

A comparison of data on the number of parents living with children and the frequency of visiting in Scandinavian countries and Germany also shows similar figures. A survey of persons 65 years of age and over in West Germany in 1958 showed that 30 percent were living with children (Baumert, 1960), and data collected in Denmark in 1962 showed that 27 percent of Danish older people lived with their children (Shanas and Townsend, 1968). A comparison of studies of intergenerational visiting patterns of Swedes and Germans also reveals similarities: 59 percent of Swedes over 67 saw a child weekly in a late-1950's study (Carlsson, 1961), while 55 percent of German respondents saw a child weekly in a 1958 study (Baumert, 1960).

Nevertheless, observers do not comment on the independence of the generations in the German family as they do for the Scandinavian family. As shown in the next section, both Scandinavian and German Americans participate fairly extensively in activities outside the family, and this balance in activities internal and external to the family may account for the relatively similar frequency of intergenerational visiting.

What is particularly important but has been studied much less is the help exchanged between kin. The cross-national study of older people in Denmark, England, and the United States shows striking differences between Denmark and the United States in help exchanged between the generations. Over twice as many Americans as Danes gave help to children; about four times as many Americans as Danes gave help to grandchildren; and almost six times as many American as Danish children gave occasional gifts of money to their parents (Shanas and Townsend, 1968). The lack of obligations between nuclear families is also apparent in Norway:

> The special relations with kinfolk do not extend into the economic sphere; there is no patterned lending of equipment or help, not even between brothers. (Eliot and Hillman, 1960, pp. 89-90)

While studies have not compared the patterns of help exchanged between kin in various ethnic groups, a Minnesota Swede once commented on how difficult it was for her sister to get used to lending tools to her in-laws after her marriage to a Polish American.

While nuclear units are expected to be independent of one another in German families, they probably exchange a great deal more services and goods than do Scandinavian families. A German father in St. Paul, for example, commented, "I told my sons when they got married not to bring their problems home; I had enough of my own." However, this father, a talented craftsman, spent many hours helping his sons repair and remodel their homes. Baumert (1960) notes that aged parents in contemporary German families play an essential role in families that are trying for higher social status. Grandmothers often run the household and care for children so that the mother can seek gainful employment.

In both Scandinavian and German families, the generations are expected to make decisions independently of one another. The visiting patterns of kin suggest the lineal structure of Scandinavian and German American families; in both groups in the NORC study of urban neighborhoods, more respondents visited parents than siblings weekly. The generations are probably somewhat closer in German American than in Scandinavian American families due to somewhat more frequent contact and the probability that German American kin depend on one another for help to a greater extent than Scandinavian American kin.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

Family members participate in the wider society within the context of the family. In some cultures, for example, families are more closed; family members relate mainly to people within the family and do not depend on people or organizations outside the family for close social and emotional relationships. In other cultures, families are more open; family members participate extensively in organizations and friendships outside the family and depend on them for social and emotional support.

The participation of family members in friendships and activities outside the family is related to family structure. People from cultures in which relationships tend to be collateral or lineal, but in which nuclear units are relatively independent, tend to participate more extensively in friendships and activities outside the family than do people who come from cultures in which family relationships are lineal and nuclear families are highly interdependent.

The Interdependent Lineal Family

Those from cultures in which the family is lineal and relationships between parents and their adult children are close, Italian and Polish Americans, for example, tend to have fewer friends, to value friends less than kin, and to belong to fewer organizations. Richard Gambino (1975) explains that Italians choose friends with great care and that they are admitted into family relationships as peer intimates and godparents. These relationships, however, are never considered equal to blood relationships. Writing of the descendants of Southern and Eastern European immigrants, Michael Novak similarly comments:

> Ethnics spend most of their hours of free time with their families. Many visit their parents at least once a week. Almost always, relatives are best friends. Their greatest celebrations are family get togethers. (1971, pp. 26-27)

In describing his Polish American family and neighborhood, Wroebel (1973) also notes that his family did not entertain often and when it did, guests were usually relatives. The 1967 NORC study of urban neighborhoods corroborates these observations: about two-thirds of Italian and Polish Americans belonged to no organizations (Greeley, 1971).

The Collateral Family

In contrast to Polish and Italian Americans, the collateral family structure of Irish Americans is more open. In Greeley's study of white ethnic groups, the Irish had the highest percentage of people ranking high on the socializing scale and the highest percentage meeting new people of Catholic ethnic groups. Whereas the ideal Italian relationship is a lineal one of complementary responsibilities between parent and child, the ideal Irish relationship is an egalitarian one of friendship based on congeniality and common interests. Greeley notes the intense loyalty of the Irish American to friends: "Of course you stand by a friend, no matter what he does, and the Irishman is astonished when other ethnic groups seem to disagree" (Greeley, 1972, p. 116). Friendship does not replace kinship for Irish Americans, but kin are evaluated by how they act as friends. A central theme in Irish American novels is the efforts of father and son to establish a comradely relationship and their delight at doing so, or their sense of loss at having failed (Hamill, 1973; Gilroy, 1965; Farrell, 1972; O'Neill, 1974; O'Connor, 1961).

The Open Lineal Family

As mentioned above, Scandinavian and German American families tend to be lineal in structure, but nuclear units are expected to be relatively independent, more so for Scandinavian than for German families. As a result, both Scandinavian and German families tend to be more open than Italian and Polish families, and German and Scandinavian Americans widely participate in formal organizations and friendships outside the family. A closer look, however, reveals fascinating differences between them. German Americans probably tend to be more home centered, and the focus of their involvement outside the family is friendship. Scandinavian Americans, on the other hand, are much more involved in organizations. Greeley's comparisons of white ethnic groups show Scandinavian Americans to have the highest percentage of respondents belonging to organizations. Not surprisingly, the study also showed that a high percentage of Scandinavians meet new people (Greeley, 1971).

The high percentage of Scandinavians belonging to organizations has also been noted in other countries:

> The Swedish speaking people in Helsinki belong more often to organizations than the Finnish speaking. (Haavio-Mannila, 1967, p. 576)

Although Finland is a Scandinavian country, as noted earlier, the Finnish people have a different cultural background than Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes.

Greeley's comparisons of the political participation of white ethnic groups illustrates the high Scandinavian involvement in community activities most dramatically. With region and social class held constant, Scandinavian Americans participated in political campaigns and contacted Government representatives outside the local community far more frequently than did German Americans. In membership in civic and community organizations, Scandinavians were ahead of all other ethnic groups, including Irish Catholics (Greeley, 1974).

In spite of their high level of organizational membership, however, Scandinavians rate themselves lower on sociability than members of any other white ethnic group. This could be expected, given observer's accounts of Scandinavian reserve. Rodnick estimates that 90 percent of his acquaintances in Norway were shy:

> Although they tend to be emotionally honest in interpersonal relationships, it is our impression that most Norweigians feel restrained by those around them. Few ever seem relaxed except when among intimate friends or, perhaps, close relatives. (1955, p. 1)

In contrast to descriptions of the Scandinavian family, those of the German family note the emphasis on informal social relationships and the lack of participation in organizations:

> In the United States, the wife's self-assertiveness and role in the outside world is perhaps more formalized in her participation in voluntary associations, while in Germany, it seems to have more to do with informal friendship relations and intellectual interests. (Rainwater, 1962, p. 16)

A cross-national study of retired schoolteachers and steelworkers in the United States, Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, and the Netherlands found retired German men to be second highest in the role of friend, second only to retired men in the United States (Havighurst, 1970). In her study of widowhood, Lopata (1973) also noted the importance of friendship to German widows in Chicago.

The emphasis on informal friendships, in contrast to participation in organizations, is related to the home-centered lifestyle noted by many observers of German family life. In the 1960's, Scheuch found that most Germans spent leisure time inside the home, either pursuing solitary activities or interacting with family members. "Outside activities are much rarer, and they too are predominantly familial in character" (Scheuch, 1960, p. 40). Both Rainwater's study of men in Germany and Greeley's comparisons of white ethnic groups reveal that German men, especially German Catholic men, tend to be highly involved with their families:

> As for overall differences between German and American men in the family area, it seems from these data that the German men reflect a more emotional involvement with their families at all levels: they seem more demanding of their wives and of their children; they seem to want more intense attachments among family members. (Rainwater, 1962, p. 17)

Since parents and children are expected to be independent, though available for help when needed, German men and women are able to engage in friendships outside the family to a greater extent than Polish and Italian Americans, whose close attention to extended family members, and especially to intergenerational relationships, is required. The German nuclear family, however, is home centered to a greater extent than the Scandinavian or Irish family. Informal friendships fit in more easily with the German family, since they can more readily be coordinated with and included within the family than can participation in formal organizations.

The ideal Italian relationship is that of complementary responsibility between parent and child, a lineal relationship that continues into adulthood. The ideal Irish relationship is a collateral one of friendship based on common interests and affiliations. The ideal German relationship is a personal one of commitment to individuals, a friendship characterized by mutual help. It is often lineal within the family, but collateral in outside friendships. The ideal Scandinavian relationship is one where individuals participate in common goals and activities, often for the good of the community, but remain independent of one another.

Women and Work

While data collected at the National Opinion Research Center show that ethnic background correlates strongly with occupational choice for men, this relationship for women remains unknown.

The importance of employment for women was emphasized in the Scandinavian countries much earlier than in Germany. As early as the 1860's in Sweden, Fredrika Bremer fought for the liberation of women with the motto, "Work is the essence of life; work is the blessing of life" (Larsen, 1913, p. 14). To free the latent talents of Swedish women and to ease the burden of the nation's breadwinners, the Fredrika Bremer League was organized in 1884, 19 years after her death, and, not surprisingly, 2 years after the high point of Scandinavian immigration to the United States, which included a disproportionate number of men. To encourage women's entry into the labor force in the 1960's, the Government revised the tax structure so that a two-income family would not be penalized, created a social insurance plan that covers both fathers and mothers who wish to stay home, and made female unemployment as important a problem as male unemployment (Herman, 1974).

Descriptions of the status of the West German women are generally not as favorable. Merkl notes that the lack of nurseries and kindergartens in West Germany makes it difficult for married women to acquire training that would qualify them for better employment. However, while benefits are better for women in Sweden, women in both countries tend to drift into the lower status jobs: sales, clerical, secretarial, or factory work (Herman, p. 77; Merkl, p. 68).

Variations in ethnic women's patterns of participation in work have not been extensively studied. However, data from a recent survey of girls in Catholic high schools in the Archdiocese of St. Paul included questions on mothers' occupation and ethnic backgrounds. The sample included 889 German, 633 Irish, and 271 Scandinavian mothers. Less than 10 percent of mothers in any of these ethnic groups were in professional occupations. Of these professional mothers, most were registered nurses and teachers. Chi-square tests showed that there were no significant differences between Irish and German women, between Irish and Scandinavian women, and between Scandinavian and German women in the number engaged in professional occupations.

Comparisons of the number of women working and of the number of women working in lower-level positions showed no significant differences between the German and the Scandinavian women. However, there were significant differences between the German and the Irish as well as between the Scandinavian and the

	Irish	German
Working	262	420
Nonworking	371	469

$\chi^2 = 5.2$

$p < .025$

	Irish	Scandinavian
Working	262	142
Nonworking	371	129

$\chi^2 = 9.2$

$p < .005$

	Irish	German
Unskilled	78	180
Other working	184	240

$\chi^2 = 16.7$

$p < .001$

	Irish	Scandinavian
Unskilled	78	60
Other working	184	82

$\chi^2 = 7.4$

$p < .01$

Irish. Significantly fewer Irish women worked, and of those who did work, fewer worked in unskilled positions (see diagram on next page).

A higher percentage of German and Scandinavian women worked in the following lower-level positions: sales clerk, waitress, clerical worker, switchboard operator, nurse's aide, dietary aide, teacher's aide, and factory worker. Irish women more frequently worked in intermediate-level positions such as secretary, dietician, writer, and manager. While the high percentage of Scandinavian and German American women in unskilled occupations parallels women's occupational participation in Scandinavia and Germany, it should be noted that the findings regarding Scandinavian mothers of Catholic high school girls may not be typical of Scandinavian mothers in general, since few Scandinavians are Catholic.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY FOR SOCIAL ISSUES

Because of the highly varied family structures and cultural values of American people, the ways in which they participate in education, employment, health care systems, and neighborhoods differ. That women have been influenced by emphasis on equal educational and occupational opportunities cannot be doubted, yet one would expect that an Italian or German woman would be influenced in quite different ways than a Scandinavian or Irish woman. Moreover, the impact of any changes in the woman herself on other family members such as parents, parents-in-law, or husband would vary depending on cultural background.

Changes in Women's Roles and Identities

There is no doubt that family life is quite different for many middle-aged women than it was for their mothers, and young women may find their lives changing even more. A number of forces have contributed to these changes, and perhaps the most important is the tremendous expansion of the economy that began with World War II. Because of this expansion, many men who grew up during the Depression were able to advance quite rapidly in their occupations (Elder, 1974, 1975). Individuals who are now in their 40's

> . . . belong to the small cohorts born in the Great Depression years, persons who finished their education and entered adulthood in an era of economic expansion. Because they were relatively few in number, and because they faced a society in which career opportunities were plentiful, their work careers were accelerated. . . . (Neugarten and Hagestad, 1976, p. 45)

With occupational mobility went geographical mobility, often from one State to another, but perhaps just as important, to a new community in the suburbs. Ten miles may not seem like much, but it is enough to take one away from family, friends, church, and neighborhood. It is still possible to keep in touch, but not every day or even every week. Home was bound to begin to mean something different. Women in middle age today are not as confined to the home as were their mothers, and many Irish and German women in the current study of three-generation families remark that they are glad they did not have to work as hard as their mothers. Loss in family and neighborhood cohesiveness, however, made the home a place where one was alone, and many middle-aged women began to devote more time to work, community organizations, or social events. It would be interesting to compare distance from close relatives with the amount of time women spend in activities away from home to see whether there is a positive correlation.

For many women today, home is not the center it used to be, not only because relatives and longtime neighbors may not be close by, but also because of children's outside activities. Practicing and competing in sports have become central in many young women's lives, and it is virtually impossible for many mothers to arrange a family supper together. An old-fashioned question in the three-generation study of Irish and German families, "How often is your father away at supper time," frequently got a modern answer from high school girls: "Our family doesn't eat together because our schedules are all different."

It is not surprising, then, for mothers to look for work, volunteer activities, and social activities outside the home, not just for added income, but for added meaning and contact with others. Once outside the home testing and discovering their abilities, women will naturally become interested in meaningful and rewarding jobs and careers and tune into the women's movement's demand for equality. However, for the woman whose life remains primarily family centered in close proximity to relatives and in a neighborhood with longtime friends, the women's movement may have little significance because the meaning of her life is rooted in the home, and she has no need for equal occupational opportunities. Asking her husband to help with housework is also not relevant because that is her work; he is doing his outside the home.

Ethnic Variations in the Impact of Change on Women's Roles and Identities

Since women start with different identities depending on their cultural backgrounds, changes in the society will probably affect them differently. The problems that arise with change need to be documented and studied. One might guess that women who come from cultural backgrounds in which the family is more open, for example, Scandinavian and Irish, would be more open to change. Yet, because these women are already quite independent, the impact of change may be considerably less for them than for women who come from families that have had a more closed family structure, such as Italian or Polish.

Women whose center of identity is the home may be influenced very little by issues of equality of women. Since they are not as active politically and occupationally, they find the meaning of their life in interaction with kin. However, if they are influenced, the impact may be much greater because their new roles and identities may be in conflict with traditional expectations of husbands and family members. In addition, they may not have the knowledge and skills needed to manage home, family, and career. In general, the higher the occupational status of women, the more likely it is that they are single. This may be partially due to the lack of congruence between high occupational status and the traditional role of women. However, research indicates that most people experience role strains when both spouses are involved in highly demanding careers. It may be that women from home-centered families find it psychologically easier to remain single than either to coordinate the demands of a career with their own traditional expectations and the expectations of parents and husbands or to change these expectations and their own identities.

Ethnicity, Change, and the Needs of the Elderly

It is not only with her husband's needs and demands that a middle-aged woman must coordinate any changes in her role and identity, but also with those of her parents or parents-in-law. If her parents are independent Scandinavians, this may not be a problem. If her in-laws are Italian, they may expect and need care and attention from their son and his family. In the Italian family, a woman was expected to move from her father's household to her own to her son's (Gambino, 1975).

Many observers have noted conflict between the generations and the disappointment of older ethnic adults. Clark and Anderson (1967) assert that the process of acculturation in first- and second-generation American families causes this conflict in expectations and norms. Polish Americans in Hamtramck and Chicago expressed feelings of bitterness, anger, and hostility toward their adult children for ignoring them and failing to help them financially (Wood, 1955; Lopata, 1976).

What makes intergenerational relationships difficult, especially in times of financial need or illness, is the tendency for Government programs to be suited to families with norms of independence. A low-income Scandinavian senior citizen may welcome an apartment in a high rise, an alternative that is available at least in Minnesota. A housing subsidy for an Italian or German widow who prefers to live with a child, on the other hand, is not available. Similarly, it is generally far easier financially for a family to place a low-income parent in an extended-care facility paid for by Medicaid than it is to take care of the parent at home.

NEED FOR RESEARCH

This paper has perhaps raised more questions about German and Scandinavians, as well as about the impact of change on families, than it has answered. The sparse research available on German and Scandinavian American families in general, and women in particular, suggests that they differ from each other and differ even more from families of other ethnic backgrounds. Both the earlier and the present Scandinavian family structure are not well understood. The high status of women in the Scandinavian family is emphasized, but it is not clear whether that is a development of the late 19th-century immigration or whether it is an earlier cultural pattern that was brought to this country.

It is clear that men in families of different cultural backgrounds have different roles in childrearing, discipline, and decisionmaking. It is also apparent that men's and women's roles are changing. What is not clear is how one's starting point influences where one ends up. If it is true, for example, that childrearing was considered the woman's role in Scandinavia, what happens when Scandinavian mothers pursue a career?

Studies in both England and the United States suggest that in dual-career families, the husband's career is regarded as more important than the wife's

(Fogarty et al., 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1972, 1976; Bebbington, 1973; Epstein, 1971; Garland, 1972; Heckman et al., 1977; Holmstrom, 1971, 1972; Martin et al., 1975; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Poloma, 1972). In general, research on dual-career families also indicates that despite her involvement in a career, the wife retains primary responsibility for the family (Epstein, 1971; Heckman et al., 1977; Poloma, 1972; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Pospisil, 1976). This may be why the Scandinavian woman who is responsible for childrearing does not have a higher occupational status than the German woman. In fact, the German Catholic father, who traditionally had a higher status but who was also more involved with his children, may more easily share in childrearing if his wife should decide to pursue a career.

Many studies have also shown that when women pursue careers, their influence in decisionmaking increases (Lupri, 1969; Lamouse, 1969; Michel, 1967; Olson and Cromwell, 1975; Bahr, 1974). However, studies have not dealt with the more complex issue of changes in both men's and women's identities and the changing constellation of relationships in the family that goes with women's increased participation in the labor force.

Families with different ethnic backgrounds offer a rich source of insight into the effects of change because they are influenced in varied ways. Until the effects of change are understood, it is difficult to counsel people on how to manage and coordinate change so that it will benefit rather than interfere with family life.

The career patterns and choices of women of different ethnic backgrounds also remain unknown. Increasingly higher proportions of women are entering the labor force. Women of different ethnic backgrounds may have different entry and exit points as well as different career choices that depend on their family roles and identities. Holmstrom (1971), for example, has noted "the difficulty of raising children in the isolated nuclear family when both spouses work" (p. 517). It might be that women from ethnic families with close intergenerational relationships are able to work when children are young because grandparents help with childcare, whereas women from ethnic families in which the nuclear units are more independent tend to be less frequently employed during the early years of childrearing. The impact of ethnic cultural values and family patterns on women's choice and timing of work is not known.

The timing of women's participation in employment and their career choices in turn affect family relationships. Research indicates that women are especially important in kinship ties and are often referred to as "the kinkeepers" (Havighurst, 1973; Rosow, 1967; Hill, 1970; Aldous, 1965, 1967; Heiskanen, 1969; Sweetser, 1968). For interdependent families, the employment of mothers might result in the greater involvement of grandmothers in rearing children, provided grandmothers are not working too. This has been true in Russia and Germany, but has not been explored for different ethnic groups in the United States. For families with norms of independence, family relationships might become more distant due to the limited amount of time that can be spent on them.

The problem of managing work and family relationships can become especially acute during times of illness, when long-term care is needed. Many Italian and Polish families, for example, prefer to care for elderly parents at home rather than in a long-term care facility (Fandetti and Gelfand, 1976). Such care becomes impossible if women are not available at home. Increasing women's participation in higher education and career commitments has a much broader effect than enabling women to develop their own potential and identities. For women of many ethnic backgrounds, such a commitment requires restructuring family patterns of mutual aid and a change, not only in their own identities, but also in those of their husbands and parents. Important research on the influence of commitment to kin on career choices and on the influence of commitment to work or career on family relationships remains to be done.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aldous, Joan. "The Consequences of Intergenerational Continuity." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 27(4):462-468, 1965.

Aldous, Joan. "Intergenerational Visiting Patterns: Variations in Boundary Maintenance as an Explanation." *Family Process* 6(2):235-251, 1967.

Alvirez, David, and Frank D. Bean. "The Mexican American Family." *In* Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations*. New York: Elsevier, 1976, pp. 271-292.

Bahr, S. "Effects on Power and Division of Labor in the Family." *In* L. Hoffman and F. Nye (eds.), *Working Mothers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.

Barton, Arnold H. "Scandinavian Immigrant Women's Encounter with America." *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 25(1):37-42, 1974.

Baumert, Gerhard. "Changes in the Family and the Position of Older Persons in Germany." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 1(2):202-210, 1960.

Bebbington, A. "The Function of Stress in the Establishment of the Dual-Career Family." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35(3):530-537, 1973.

Becker, Howard. "German Families Today." *In* Hans J. Morgenthau (ed.), *Germany and the Future of Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Billigmeier, Robert Henry. *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1974.

Bozzetti, Louis P. "The Aged in Sweden. II: A Systems Approach--The Swedish Model." *Psychiatric Annals*, vol. 7, no. 3, March 1977.

Carlsson, Sten. "From Sweden to the Midwest." *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 25(1):193-207, 1974.

Daniels, H. K. *Home Life in Norway*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1911.

Devereux, Edward C. "Authority and Moral Development Among German and American Children: A Cross-National Pilot Experiment." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 3(1):99-124, 1972.

DuBois, Rachel Davis, and Emma Schweppe. *The Germans in American Life*. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1936.

Elder, Glen H., Jr. *Children of the Great Depression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Elder, Glen H., Jr. "Age Differentiation and the Life Course." In Alex Inkeles, James Coleman, and Neil Smelser (eds.), Annual Review of Sociology, vol. 1. Palo Alto, Calif.: Annual Reviews, 1975.

Eliot, Thomas D. "Family Life Education in Norway." Marriage and Family Living 15(1):4-8, 1953.

Eliot, Thomas D., and Arthur Hillman. Norway's Families: Trends, Problems, Programs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

Epstein, L., and J. Murray. "Law Partners and Marital Partners: Strains and Solutions in the Dual Career Family Enterprise." Human Relations 24(6):549-564, 1971.

Fandetti, D. V., and D. E. Gelfand. "Care of the Aged: Attitudes of White Ethnic Families." Gerontologist 16:544-549, 1976.

Faramound, G. "Towards a Happy Old Age." Current Sweden, vol. 5, July 1973.

Farrell, James T. Young Lonigan. New York: Avon, 1972.

Femminella, Francis X., and Jill S. Quadagno. "The Italian American Family." In Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations. New York: Elsevier, 1976, pp. 61-88.

Fishman, Joshua A. Language Loyalty in the United States. London: Mouton & Co., 1966.

Fogarty, M., R. Rapoport, and R. Rapoport. Sex, Career, and Family. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971.

Gambino, Richard. Blood of My Blood: The Dilemma of the Italian-Americans. New York: Anchor, 1975.

Garland, T. "The Better Half? The Male in the Dual Profession Family." In C. Safilios-Rothschild (ed.), Toward a Sociology of Women. Massachusetts: Xerox Publishing, 1972.

Gilroy, Frank D. "The Subject Was Roses." In F. D. Gilroy, About Those Roses. New York: Random House, 1965.

Gleason, Philip. The Conservative Reformers: German Catholics and the Social Order. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.

Greeley, Andrew M. Why Can't They Be Like Us? New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971.

Greeley, Andrew M. That Most Distressful Nation: The Taming of the American Irish. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1972.

Greeley, Andrew M. Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

Gronseth, Erik. "Research on Socialization in Norway." Family Process 3:302-322, 1964.

Haavio-Mannila, Elina. "Sex Role Differentiation in Role Expectations and Performance." Journal of Marriage and the Family 29(3):568-578, 1967.

Haavio-Mannila, Elina. "The Position of Finnish Women: Regional and Cross-National Comparisons." Journal of Marriage and the Family 31(2):339-347, 1969.

Haavio-Mannila, Elina. "Cross-National Differences in Adoption of New Ideologies and Practices in Family Life." Journal of Marriage and the Family 34(3):527-537, 1972.

Hamill, Pete. The Gift. New York: Ballantine, 1973.

Havighurst, Robert J. "Social Roles, Work, Leisure, and Education." In Carl Eisdorfer and M. Powell Lawton (eds.), The Psychology of Adult Development and Aging. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, Inc., 1973.

Havighurst, R. J., J. M. A. Munnichs, B. Neugarten, and H. Thomae (eds.). Adjustment to Retirement. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1970.

Hawgood, John A. The Tragedy of German-America. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940.

Hayghe, H. "Families and the Rise of Working Wives--An Overview." Monthly Labor Review 99(5):12-19, 1976.

Heckman, N., R. Bryson, and R. Bryson. "Problems of Professional Couples: A Content Analysis." Journal of Marriage and the Family 39(2):323-330, 1977.

Heiskanen, Veronica. "Community Structure and Kinship Ties: Extended Family Relations in Three Finnish Communes." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 10(3-4):251-262, 1969.

Herman, Sondora. "The Liberated Women of Sweden." The Center Magazine 7(3):76-78, 1974.

Hill, Reuben. Family Development in Three Generations. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1970.

Hoffman, L., and F. Nye (eds.). Working Mothers. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.

Holmstrom, L. The Two Career Family. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972.

Holmstrom, L. "Career Patterns of Married Couples." In Athena Theodore (ed.), The Professional Woman. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971.

Howitt, William. The Rural and Domestic Life of Germany. London: Longmans Brown, Green and Longmans, 1942.

Huebener, Theodore. The Germans in America. Philadelphia: The Chilton Co., 1962.

Janson, Carl-Gunnar. "The Case for a Scandinavian Sociology." Sociology and Social Research 58(3):278-285, 1974.

Kalvesten, Anna Lisa. "Family Policy in Sweden." Marriage and Family Living 17(3):250-254, 1955.

Kandel, Denise B., and Gerald S. Lesser. Youth in Two Worlds: United States and Denmark. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1972.

Kandel, Denise, and Gerald S. Lesser. "Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Independence in the United States and Denmark." Journal of Marriage and the Family 31(2):348-358, 1969.

Karlsson, George. "Sociological Studies of the Family in Scandinavia." Sociological Inquiry 31(1):47-59, 1961.

Kourvetaris, George A. "The Greek American Family." In Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations. New York: Elsevier, 1976, pp. 168-191.

Lamouse, Annette. "Family Roles of Women: A German Example." Journal of Marriage and the Family 31(1):145-152, 1969.

Larsen, Hanna Astrup. "Sweden's Unique Organization of Women." The American Scandinavian Review 1(3):14-17, 1913.

Lonaeus, Gunnar. "Stand Up and Be Counted." Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 24(4):223-237, 1973.

Lopata, Helena Z. Widowhood in an American City. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1973.

Lopata, Helena Z. "The Polish American Family." In Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations. New York: Elsevier, 1976, pp. 15-40.

Lupri, Eugen. "Contemporary Authority Patterns in the West German Family: A Study in Cross-National Validation." Journal of Marriage and the Family 31(1):134-143, 1969.

Lyman, S. M. "Generation Gap." Society 10:55-63, 1973.

Martin, T., K. Berry, and R. Jacobsen. "The Impact of Dual-Career Marriages on Female Professional Careers: An Empirical Test of a Parsonian Hypothesis." Journal of Marriage and the Family 37(4):734-742, 1975.

Merkl, Peter. "The Women of West Germany." The Center Magazine 7(3):68-69, 1974.

Michel, Andre. "Comparative Data Concerning the Interaction in French and American Families." Journal of Marriage and the Family 29:337-344, 1967.

Montiel, M. "The Chicano Family: A Review of Research." Social Work 18:22-31, 1973.

Mortimer, J. "Dual Career Families--A Sociological Perspective." Paper presented at the Symposium on the Two Career Family, sponsored by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn., 1977.

Nelson, O. N. History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States. New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1969.

Neugarten, Bernice, and Gunhild Hagestad. "Age and the Life Course." In Robert H. Binstock and Ethel Shans (eds.), Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1976, pp. 35-55.

O'Connor, Edwin. The Edge of Sadness. Boston: Little, Brown, 1961.

O'Connor, Richard. The German Americans: An Informal History. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

Olson, David H., and Ronald E. Cromwell (eds.). Power in Families. 1975.

O'Neill, Eugene. Long Day's Journey into Night. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.

Osako, M. M. "Intergenerational Relations as an Aspect of Assimilation: The Case of the Japanese-Americans." Sociological Inquiry 46:67-72, 1976.

Pihlblad, C. Terrence. "The Kansas Swedes." The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 12(1):34-47, 1932.

Poloma, M. "Role Conflict and the Married Professional Woman." In C. Safilios-Rothschild (ed.), Toward a Sociology of Women. Massachusetts: Xerox Publishing, 1972.

Poloma, M., and T. Garland. "The Myth of the Egalitarian Family: Familial Roles and the Professionally Employed Wife." In A. Theodore (ed.), The Professional Woman. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971.

Portner, Joyce. Impacts of Work on the Family. Minneapolis: Minnesota Council on Family Relations, 1978.

Pospisil, V. "Problems of Dual-Career Marriages." *Industry Week* *191*(4):87-89, 1976.

Rainwater, Lee. "Social Status Differences in the Family Relationships of German Men." *Marriage and Family Living* *24*(1):12-17, 1962.

Rapoport, R., and R. Rapoport. "Further Considerations on the Dual Career Families." *Human Relations* *24*(6):519-533, 1971.

Rapoport, R., and R. Rapoport. "Dual-Career Family: A Variant Pattern and Social Change." *In* C. Safilios-Rothschild (ed.), *Toward a Sociology of Women*. Massachusetts: Xerox Publishing, 1972.

Rapoport, R., and R. Rapoport. *Dual-Career Families Re-examined*. New York: Harper-Colophon Books, 1976.

Rippley, LaVern. *Of German Ways*. Minneapolis: Dillon Press, 1970.

Rodman, H., and C. Safilios-Rothschild. "Business and the American Family." *In* I. Berg (ed.), *The Business of America*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1968.

Rodnick, David. *The Norwegians: A Study in National Character*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955.

Rosow, Irving. *Social Integration of the Aged*. New York: The Free Press, 1967.

Ryan, J. C. *Early Loggers in Minnesota*. Duluth: Minnesota Timber Producers Association, 1975.

Ryan, J. C. *Early Loggers in Minnesota*, vol. II. Duluth: Minnesota Timber Producers Association, 1976.

Safilios-Rothschild, C. (ed.). *Toward a Sociology of Women*. Massachusetts: Xerox Publishing, 1972.

Schelsky, Helmut. "The Family in Germany." *Marriage and Family Living* *16*(4):331-335, 1954.

Scheuch, Erwin K. "Family Cohesion in Leisure Time." *The Sociological Review* *8*(1):37-61, 1960.

Shanas, Ethel, Peter Townsend et al. *Old People in Three Industrial Societies.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

Sidgwick, Mrs. Alfred. *Home Life in Germany*. London: Methuen and Co., 1908.

Skardal, Dorothy Burton. *The Divided Heart: Scandinavian Immigrant Experience Through Literary Sources*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1974.

Staples, R. "The Mexican-American Family: Its Modification over Time and Space." Phylon, pp. 179-192, 1971.

Stein, H. F. "Cultural Specificity in Patterns of Mental Illness and Health: A Slovak-American Case Study." Family Process 12:69-82, 1973.

Svalastoga, Kaarre. "The Family in Scandinavia." Marriage and Family Living 16(4):374-380, 1954.

Svalastoga, Kaare, and Gosta Carlsson. "Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Scandinavia." Sociological Inquiry 31(1):23-46, 1961.

Sweetser, Dorrian Apple. "Intergenerational Ties in Finnish Urban Families." American Sociological Review 33(2):236-246, 1968.

Taylor, Donald L. "The Changing German Family." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 10(3-4):299-302, 1969.

Theodore, Athena (ed.). The Professional Woman. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971.

Waite, L. "Working Wives, 1940-1960." American Sociological Review 41(1):65-79, 1976.

Walker, K. "Time Used by Husbands for Household Work." Family Economic Review. USDA Agricultural Research Service, 1970, pp. 8-11.

Wood, A. E. Hamtramck: Then and Now. New York: Bookman, 1955.

Wroebel, P. "Becoming a Polish American: A Personal Point of View." In J. Ryan (ed.), White Ethnics. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Yanagisako, S. J. "Two Processes of Change in Japanese-American Kinship." Journal of Anthropological Research 31:196-224, 1975.

ACHIEVING THE DREAMS BEYOND TRADITION: COUNSELING WHITE ETHNIC AMERICAN GIRLS

Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard

INTRODUCTION

To one degree or another, all cultures have actively sought to keep women subservient. Typically, family resources have been devoted to the development of sons and not daughters. Religion, family ties, and imposed restrictions of "femininity" have all been used to hold girls in intellectual and almost physical bondage.

Our present generalized "American" society, as all societies, has expended considerable effort to restrict the growth of girls by limiting their intellectual, physical, and work-related exploration. This realization helps us to understand the position of ethnic girls in a clearer context. The problems at the intersect of "ethnicity" and "women's role" are not unique, although each individual dealing with these problems will resolve them in a uniquely individual way. They are the same problems which require vindication of the rights of women, which require recognition of the consequences of always viewing oneself, and being viewed by others, as the second sex, and which require the sensitivity to see the feminine mystique for the bondage that it is, whether clothed in ethnic or nonethnic garb.

Ethnic girls, like all girls, need careful and caring guidance, guidance that will encourage them to explore their long-range needs and goals and to move beyond the stereotypes. Most importantly, they need support to pursue the dreams that lie beyond the limitations of tradition. Giving of structured support is within the counselor's role and within the role of all caring adults.

OVERVIEW

Commonly we speak of waves of immigration that reached America's shores at different times and from different places. An individual observing the crest and breadth, foam and tow of a particular wave could easily miss the other waves coming in. Even if a person noted other waves, studying the waves individually could cause one to miss the general effect the combined waves were having on the shore. Here the waves' differences are not as significant as their total tidal effect. In the same way, to dwell only on differences of degree in the treatment and expectations that white ethnic groups hold for their daughters is to risk not seeing the direction of the tide. Girls of various ethnic groups and their counselors have much to gain by remembering that the current differences are of degree only and that the tide is working inexorably to break up the bondage of sex roles for all ethnic groups.

White ethnic girls, like girls of all groups, are discovering a basic tenet of the women's movement; they are not alone, for other girls are feeling the same way and having many of the same experiences.

Definitions Stifle Reality

Currently, much of the literature on ethnic America uses the word "ethnic" almost interchangeably with "working class." It also tends to measure ethnicity by display of "old emigration folk or peasant culture criteria" (Lopata, 1977). These standards are often coupled with stereotypic concepts about ethnic women as always housewives who, unlike middle-and upper-class women, do not join groups or do community work. In reality, researchers are closing their eyes to the facts (Seifer, 1973). Some women have in fact moved in that direction, but because this behavior does not fit the stereotype of the ethnic woman, these women are ignored.

Current Realities

Organizations specifically designed to meet the needs of white ethnic women are beginning to emerge. For example, the National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW) is an umbrella organization of grassroots multiethnic women's organizations that deals with the status of community women and the issues that affect their daily lives, including housing, employment, education, health, welfare, and legal issues. Two of their current projects support the concept of "networking" for ethnic women at the local and national levels. Another effort of this group is the establishment of a neighborhood-based college program for working-class women leading to an associate of arts degree. A fourth project is the Women's Survival Space Project, which provides a comprehensive support system for abused women and their children. This group considers itself as part of the women's movement (NCNW, 1978).

An individual example of behavior that does not fit the stereotypes is Eleanor Cutri Smeal, daughter of Italian immigrants, married and a mother. In 1977, when she was in her late 30's, she took her first paying job as president of the National Organization for Women (Dworkin, 1977). She is as "ethnic" as she was in 1976, but it is unlikely that the sociological or educational researchers who write about ethnicity will include her anymore: she does not fit the stereotype.

Regardless of what researchers "see," daughters of ethnic families are seeing something else in their homes today, and what they are seeing is contrary to the stereotype of the content ethnic housewife. White ethnic daughters see their mothers beginning to raise their own questions in their own way. The feminine mystique Friedan (1964) described is affecting them as profoundly as it has other women:

> For the most part this is the way she wants life to be, but the sameness haunts her from time to time; and she has the feeling of being trapped, of being of so much service to others that there are no time and resources left for her own pleasures. (Rainwater, 1974)

Often isolated in shrinking ethnic neighborhoods or in the separateness of the suburbs, pushed by rising inflation into economic need and by media that show them a different way to be, many women are finding that housework without social connection does not lead to a sense of competence or self-determination equal to that provided by paid employment (Ferree, 1976). Interviews with working-class married women (median age, 36 years) revealed that those who were full-time housewives were more likely to be dissatisfied with the way they were spending their lives than were those who were employed outside the home. These full-time housewives said they wanted their daughters to be "mostly different from themselves" (Ferree, 1976).

The research also indicates that the rate of alcoholism, depression, and divorce among working-class mothers is increasing (Controversial Issues Kit, 1976), and the divorce rate is rising most rapidly among young working-class couples.

In March 1975, 1 out of 10 families was headed by a female, compared with with 1 out of 25 in 1960. Of these families headed by women, 1 out of 3, compared with 1 out of 18 headed by men, lived at the poverty level (Population Profile of the U.S., 1974; Monthly Labor Review, 1976).

The most critical change factor affecting Catholic women, and one with enormous implications for daughters of Catholic ethnic families, is that Catholic ethnic women are steadily increasing their use of birth control. In 1965, a national survey revealed that 35 percent of Irish American wives and 68 percent of Italian American wives were using artificial means of contraception. In 1970, 78 percent of Catholic women between the ages of 20 and 24, women who considered themselves devout Catholics in other respects, were practicing contraception (Seifer, 1973).

Limiting family size will have a profound effect on the daughters of those families in at least two ways. First, the model of motherhood as a lifelong, full-time role becomes harder to sustain; the last child will be in school while the mother is still at a young age. Second, as additional resources become available to the fewer children in the family, it is likely that more of those resources will be allocated to the daughters as well as the sons for further training and education. These two factors, along with research findings that the working-class wife is less satisfied with her traditional role and wants her daughter to be "different," indicate that it may be easier than the stereotypes have led us to believe for daughters of white ethnic families to secure parental support for broader life options.

HISTORY REEXAMINED

Stereotypes to the contrary (as usual), the white ethnic American girl does not come from an immutable tradition of passivity. Generally, immigrant women from all groups found a new freedom in America, where women's roles were less circumscribed than in their countries of origin. Many a grandmother and great-grandmother of today's ethnic girls managed a small family business with her husband; she did piecework in her home and domestic work in the homes of others; she took in boarders and washing; she went into the factories in the East and rode West with the wagon trains; she worked the pushcarts and homesteaded; she led mass demonstrations in New York against high meat prices and, in 1909, joined the 20,000 "passive" ethnic women who walked out on the clothing industry, precipitating the great strike of the garment workers that resulted in the establishment of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Like women everywhere, she did what needed to be done to ensure personal and family survival.

In America, the husbands of immigrant women worked at jobs that kept them long hours, 6 days a week, providing women with increasing opportunities for personal autonomy and family leadership. For wives who worked outside the home to support their families and for single women, the opportunities for independence were even wider.

In the early decades of the Irish immigration, during the early and middle 1800's, an "uncommonly" high number of single Irish women came to America seeking higher status and independence. Unless they had a dowry enabling them to marry the neighbor's heir in Ireland, they had little future there and did not stay. One author refers to this exodus of Irish women eager to make their own way as an "early Women's Liberation Movement" (Biddle, 1976).

In America, these Irish women supported themselves, alone, from the beginning, doing the things that they had done in Ireland as unpaid female members of the family. In America, they began as servants, cooks, laundresses, and aides to the semiskilled. There was no stigma attached to remaining unmarried in Ireland, and many of these early Irish immigrant women remained single and independent throughout their lives. They often started "families" by taking in other relatives of their family of origin.

In the first decades after the arrival of the Irish, the number of households headed by women increased to 18 percent in 1855, 14 percent in 1865, and 16 percent in 1875 (Biddle, 1977). To gain some perspective on the meaning of those figures, consider that in 1977, about 13 percent of American family households were headed by women, and that was thought to be a new and unusual trend!

In spite of these indications, most books and articles on individual ethnic groups describe a situation in which the early families were more traditional in their sex role requirements than were later generations. Yet, wives and daughters were working for pay in larger numbers in the early years of immigration than they were by the time of the second and third generations. One of the causes of this change can be traced to the need for "status."

Like the upper class Victorian husband who found his most prized status possession to be a wife who did not "work," the working-class man began to see his status as dependent upon whether he alone could provide sufficient income to support his family.

Currently, as the Wall Street Journal has pointed out in a series of articles on working women (September 1978), the upper class male often has a wife who works outside the home. The higher her salary and status, the more positively it reflects on him (and, obviously, on her). Thus, with a new model, the attitudes of middle and lower class males about their wives working are also changing, partially from economic necessity and partially from recognition of the psychological benefits of work which are as important to their wives as to themselves.

EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY

As individuals or families identified as ethnic gain more education or move into the middle class, ethnic identity tends to fade as less stress is given to the outward symbols of their original class or country (Warner, 1962; Mindel and Habenstein, 1977). Whether one's family was designated "ethnic" one generation or ten generations ago, more education loosens the sex role bind, as does moving from working-class to middle-class status. Status and identity seem no longer to depend on membership in a particular group, but to stem from a different base--one of occupation and achievement. The Wall Street Journal (September 22, 1978), in describing changes in lifestyle caused by working women, comments:

> Regardless of where they live, however, an employed husband and wife do tend to center their social lives more around the office than the home. "The Joneses you keep up with will no longer be somebody near where you live," says John McKnight, associate director of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs, "but somebody where you work."

If education reduces sex role stereotyping, then the question of how different ethnic groups perceive the pursuit of education would seem to be a matter of importance. However, once more we find that it is now only a matter of degree.

It is important to keep ethnic beliefs within a historical context. For example, at the time of the Irish immigration in the last century, very few individuals viewed higher education to be of great use or importance for any woman, including the white Protestant daughters of Mayflower descendants. It therefore will tell us little about ethnicity to note that Irish immigrants did not send their daughters to college. Indeed, it is only fairly recently that girls, even of the middle class, have been expected to go to college, and this recent change is beginning to be reflected among white ethnic groups as well.

In the early years, many Italian American families viewed education as "antithetical" to proper training for girls or boys because they believed that it might keep young people from the more important lessons to be learned from the work world. In a culture that centered family life around the role of the mother, it would not be surprising for many girls to be channeled away from the advanced education and professional careers that would be perceived as taking too much time from the family (Femminella and Guadagno, 1977).

In second-generation Greek families, males had more educational opportunities than did their sisters because the women were also trained to be housewives, for which formal education was not needed. In recent years, this trend has changed "drastically" (Kourvelaris, 1977).

Among Polish Americans, education has been "underused" as a means of upward mobility until recently. Now, the later generations have discovered the usefulness of education as a "tool for status competition" (Lopata, 1977).

For religious and cultural reasons, Jewish Americans early recognized the importance of education and encouraged it for their children, both girls and boys. As the only immigrant group that was a minority even in their countries of origin, they recognized that schools provided a prime opportunity for their children to learn about American social expectations (American Life, 1962).

A summary of trends, then, makes clear that although there appeared to be little concern among the working class with education as a means of upward mobility just a few decades ago, there are now clear indications that this is changing: if the "status package" must contain higher education for the children, the parents will, somehow, strive to buy that package (Lopata, 1976).

THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Although it is probably true that white ethnic families have thought first of their sons, it is important to remember that this pattern is not strikingly different from that of most nonethnic American families.

Much has been written about differing treatment of sons and daughters in ethnic groups: daughters are expected to stay close to home while boys are allowed more freedom; children are taught that there is a clear separation of women's work and men's work; boys are encouraged to be assertive, studious, or spontaneous, while girls are encouraged to be shy and reserved, with less emphasis and reward given to their intellectual or esthetic pursuits. While we might define these behaviors as indicative of ethnicity, the more interesting question is, how is this so-called ethnic behavior different from what Dick and Jane Wasp and their parents have been doing throughout the 20th century? Families not designated ethnic also keep girls close, divide labor by sex, and train daughter to help mother and son to help father. School textbooks still reflect this stereotyped behavior. Therefore, the study of historical differences may be interesting, but it may also sidetrack efforts that could help girls and women to deal with where they are now.

However, although the tide is beginning to move toward greater mobility and career opportunities for white ethnic girls and women, it is certainly true that these girls and women would benefit from assistance to maximize their new opportunities. They and their families need early and continuing encouragement to invest time and family resources in education and training for the wide range of interesting and well-paying jobs that are now opening up to them as well as to their brothers.

Some years ago, in another context, Montagu (1952), in Man's Most Dangerous Myth, suggested that the differences in physical appearance used to separate on the basis of race are minimal compared with the intricate physical ways we are all exactly alike. Likewise, to seek out and emphasize subtle differences in ethnic group behavior is to risk losing sight of the individual girl within each ethnic group who may or may not fit, or want to fit, the ethnic profile being imposed on her.

> . . . the ethnic revival celebrates diversity, not however of the individual but of the groups to which they belong. It is a sociological truism that the more cohesive an ethnic group, the more conformist or the most anti-individualistic are its members. Thus the call for a diversity of cohesive tightly knit groups actually amounts to an assault on the deeply entrenched principle of individualism. (Patterson, 1978)

Like the ethnic wife who worked when it was necessary and then came home again, giving up independence to satisfy the status requirements of her husband, the women and girls of ethnic groups, like those of nonethnic groups, often find their behavior determined not by their own needs, but by the status of men in a male-dominated American society.

THE GIRL HERSELF

Indeed, keeping a girl's ethnicity constantly in mind may introduce a subtle, or perhaps not so subtle, change in expectations that may have nothing to do with the core of her potential. For an educator to make some effort to understand a girl's background is one thing; to make censoring assumptions concerning what should be an "appropriate" life plan based on ethnic background is quite another. Efforts to carefully separate the girl of Polish American descent from the girl of Italian American descent from the Irish Catholic American girl from the girl of Greek American descent from the Jewish American girl of Polish, German, or Russian descent is not really what is needed.

The treatment of girls of all groups, ethnic and nonethnic, is rooted in the belief that girls are not as important as boys, that resources need not be allocated to them, and that they must be shaped like bonsai trees to limit growth so that they will fit into a home without too much trouble:

> We now know that such rigid expectations can limit our daughters in almost the same way a bonsai tree is limited and prevented from growing as high and as wide as its original root--its potential--would have allowed. The bonsai tree is pretty and decorative, but it does not develop fully and it is unlikely to survive on its own. (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1977)

Counselors, then, as well as all adults concerned with the development of the full human potential of girls must explore their own feelings and assumptions very carefully to be certain they are not pinching off potential to shape the female bonsai.

HER COUNSELOR

The Counselor's Attitude

To help girls of ethnic groups, a counselor must be willing to examine honestly and critically her or his own attitude about the role of women. Otherwise, the limitations of traditional expectations that may exist in the girl's home may be reinforced by the person outside the home--the counselor--to whom she looks for assistance and guidance. If a girl receives no reinforcement from either home or school, it should come as no surprise if she then pulls back from her true interests and expectations and follows the traditional path (Frienze et al., 1975; Horner, 1972).

A survey of 1,188 freshmen college women (Harmon, 1971) reported on occupations they had considered for careers as they were growing up. The survey revealed that not all early preferences persisted, but those that did were in typically "feminine" occupations. Those that persisted the least involved unusual talent, long periods of training, or short, noncollege training courses--all career paths that would be easier to explore with trained guidance support. Counselors and other caring adults must learn to be attentive and responsive to the aspirations indicated by young girls. Certainly, exploration of options and not defaulting to

212

stereotypes is what counseling is all about. However, counselors may need help in recognizing and examining their own reluctance to take an active role in clearing away the stereotypes:

> Your first task is to calmly assess your deep and perhaps secret feeling about the whole idea of occupational freedom for girls and women. (Matthews, 1970)

"Occupational freedom" certainly means the right for a girl of an ethnic group, or any other group, to aspire to any career for which she has the requisite interest and ability. The school can support occupational freedom through counseling by adults who know what education and training is required to achieve that aspiration and what courses in junior high and high school will move her toward her goal. The school can assist her with career education activities or vocational work/study programs that allow the girl to check out her perceptions about and interest in the field of work that attracts her.

For girls to achieve occupational freedom, however, the school must undertake and constantly reinforce two other activities before most girls will even be free to make use of what the school can make available to them. First, school personnel must repeatedly assure girls and young women that they do, indeed, have the right to occupational freedom. Second, school personnel must take steps to remove any implicit assumptions in their programs or practices, attitudes or curriculums that a girl can make a career choice only after she has accounted for how she will take care of presupposed homemaking and childcare responsibilities (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1975).

Probably the most important way any adult can help a girl develop life/career plans is to constantly work at clearing away the myth that she can safely expect to spend the rest of her life married and bringing up children while someone else takes financial care of her. A girl who acts on this belief is relieved of the responsibility of making serious educational and career plans that will enable her to be responsible for her own life, whether or not she joins that life with another human being. Furthermore, with the increasing incidence of divorce, the increasing number of families headed by women, and the likelihood that wives will outlive their husbands, it is cavalier at best and cruel at worst to allow a girl to proceed through school with this myth intact.

> She has been shortchanged into believing that if she is a normal, American girl, she will only be in the paid labor force for a while, marking time until she marries and solves life's problems shielded from the cold statistics of life. (Briggs, 1974)

This question of whose is the sole responsibility for childcare and who, therefore, can be expected to fit their life around this responsibility is one that counselors still answer in a stereotypic way. Counselor attitudes on three significant dimensions were surveyed over time—1968, 1971, and 1974 (Engelhard et al., 1976). The dimensions surveyed were: (1) the working-mother factor—what happens to the children when the mother works; (2) sex role definitions—what roles should be assigned to which sex; and (3) society impact—do women have a contribution to make that will improve society. The idea of the working mother was supported least by both men and women, and on this issue the women and men counselors were the furthest apart, the women being far more supportive. Overall, the attitudes of male counselors were significantly less supportive of changing women's roles than were those of women counselors. Attitudes of both women and men counselors are changing at about the same rate, but because the male counselors started at a much lower level of acceptance, they still have further to go.

One of the reasons that counselors have not, as a group, taken a more active stance on behalf of girls and women may be that, for whatever reason, they have failed to perceive the seriousness of the issue. In 1973, Bingham and House found that counselors were not aware of various activities and well-publicized information concerning the number of women who work and the discrimination they encounter.

In 1975, Hawley found that, in response to a series of questions on current information, counselors again continued to underestimate the proportions of girls who will work for some period of their lives and the proportion of those who will work full time, nor were they aware of the extent of the discrepancies in the incomes of women and men. Furthermore, older male counselors were more likely to respond in a less knowledgeable manner than younger men or women of all ages. Juxtaposing this against the fact that approximately 85 percent of all counselor educators are male, according to the Commission for Women of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (1973), may give some insight into why counselor training, at least at the preservice level, has done very little to train counselors to understand the special needs of the girls and women whom they are supposed to help.

Unless counselors can free themselves of the belief that when all is said and done it is mother, and mother only, who is responsible for childcare, and women are not a serious component of the labor force, it is unlikely that they will be of much assistance in freeing girls of the same stereotypes. Sociological and psychological research has demonstrated convincingly that performance expectation is a critical factor for actual performance (Rosenthal, 1966, 1968).

Instead of being programed to dependency, girls should be helped to realistically explore and understand the dangers of financial dependency. The number of poor families headed by women is continuously rising, while the number of poor families headed by men is falling (Current Population Reports, 1978). The divorce rate is up 127 percent since 1960 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1976), and the latest provisional statistics indicate that the rate is continuing to rise. Girls with stereotypic notions about what is appropriate work for women, notions that are reinforced by the stereotypic attitudes of counselors and parents, are directed away from the training programs that would benefit them. The heavy childcare responsibilities which they are programed to accept when they are children, and which they do accept when they are adults, will prevent them from taking jobs or training that they need to break out of the poverty cycle of female-headed families (Monthly Labor Review, 1976).

To the extent that white ethnic girls are more heavily reinforced for the traditional "feminine" role concept and thereby encouraged to deny their aspirations and capabilities, they need extra support and understanding. The critical nature of the support that schools give to serious exploration of options can hardly be overestimated.

Review of child development literature indicates that female children are not given enough parental encouragement for independent behavior, and therefore they often do not develop adequate skills or confidence to move independently toward their goals (Hoffman, 1972). Girls continue to be reared to please others. In families where orientation leans heavily toward ethnic traditions, daughters are also required to stay close to home and behave in a "feminine" manner. These requirements do not foster independent behavior and self-esteem, a fact that has received far too little attention. Girls need encouragement and positive reinforcement to develop a sense of self-worth.

Although, on average, girls perform as well academically as boys. this ability is not translated into commensurate education or occupational aspirations (Astin, 1975). Even when abilities are demonstrated, they decline. In a study of 471 high school seniors from public and parochial schools (Campbell and McKain, 1974), IQ scores of girls, but not boys, declined overall from the 7th to the 12th grade. The young women in the IQ group with declining scores rated themselves as less active and with less need to control than the young women whose scores did not decline. The author concludes that the school environment and the sex-stereotyping practices within the school greatly influenced this decline.

The above study reinforces the findings of the Fels Study of Gifted Children, which identified a group of gifted children early in their lives and has continued to follow them for decades into maturity. The Fels Study found that the IQ's of elementary schoolchildren, both boys and girls, who were dominant, aggressive, and independent rose, whereas the IQ's of girls and boys who were passive, shy, and dependent declined during the elementary years. The Fels researcher said that the simplest way to describe the thread that linked the girls who grew up to use the intellectual capacities that had been early identified was that "she must have been a tomboy at some point in her childhood" (Maccoby, 1963). This has enormous implications for the kinds of curricular and extracurricular activities that counselors should be encouraging and supporting for girls.

Although athletic programs for girls may not be a topic most counselors typically feel is of concern to them, the research would indicate otherwise. The supermale/athletic orientation, which used to be located primarily in college and has now reached into high school and even down to the popcorn leagues of elementary school, sets expectations of secondary roles for girls that are diametrically opposed to what the research says develops independent, assertive girls who will make the best use of their potential.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 has made some inroads on these assumptions. However, although more schools are developing girls' athletic programs and cheerleading teams are including boys, it is hardly routine to see cheer squads composed of females or males or both appearing as part of the regular schedule to cheer for, say, the girls' varsity basketball team. Far from being a matter of no importance, the question of who gets to cheer and who gets to be cheered conveys a powerful message to both girls and boys about who is and who is not important. It establishes a model for girls and boys which says that a girl will define her self-worth not out of her own accomplishments, but by which high-status athlete finds her worthy of his attention. That is a training step for the role of wife at home, whose status is defined not by her personal achievements but by the achievements of the man she marries.

Many other decisions that counselors make routinely can also have long-range consequences for girls. The questions of scheduling and selection of courses as well as who gets scheduled into which course are not even topics that youngsters think of as having an effect on their career choices. In the National Center for Educational Statistics' High School Longitudinal Study of 1972, high school girls and boys said that counselors were not the most important determiners of after-high school graduation aspirations, but that counselors were the most important determiners in helping them select high school courses. The youngsters seem totally unaware that their after-graduation options can be limited or increased by the kinds of preparatory courses they take in high school, whether those courses are preparation for immediate work or for further education. For example, the girl whose counselor tells her that mathematics is probably not important is blocking her out of all the scientific and technological fields that higher education has to offer and out of many higher paying jobs that do not require higher education but do require knowledge of mathematics, such as electronics or laboratory work.

Counselors may worry that their encouragement of girls to explore challenging long-range goals may be seen as an effort to undermine ethnicity. They may ask themselves, "Will I be seen as attempting to destroy the cultural heritage and its expectations for the female role if I provide information and support for alternatives to the way women have traditionally been treated or have traditionally behaved in a particular culture?" Greeley (1974) makes a stark response to that question:

> Should ethnicity be "encouraged" in its broader social and cultural and academic forms or in its movement manifestations?. . . It is, of course, an arrogant and patronizing question. Catholic ethnics scarcely need to be encouraged by anyone. They have struggled to economic and educational success in American society with precious little help from any of society's professional do-gooders. . . . Such activities [outside support for ethnicity] hardly need to be evaluated in terms of higher ethical questions. In other words, if in our pluralistic society, ethnic movements and ethnic organizations are able by the ordinary process of conflict, competition, cooperation and consensus to earn support and acceptance, then more power to them--literally as well as figuratively. If they are unable to do so, then society need not concern itself greatly about their failure.

Here, of course, Greeley is discussing the larger parameters of the ethnic movement. However, there is something here for the counselor of the girl of ethnic heritage. If adherence to the strictures of her culture, whatever they may be, is right for her and in her best interests, then the culture need fear no input of information.

The research convincingly demonstrates that women need to feel support if they are to make the commitment to explore their potential beyond the traditional limits (Bernard, 1968; Frienze et al., 1975; Holmstrom, 1973; Horner, 1972). If that is true for mature women, it is also true for young girls who are even more vulnerable to outside pressures and have less experience upon which to draw in making informed decisions that will be in their own best interest (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1978). Thus, the counselor's responsibility, like that of the school system itself, is to make available to the student a plethora of information and ideas that the home is unable, or perhaps in some instances unwilling, to provide.

When To Help

The moment for the school system and its counselors to start helping is the moment girls set foot in kindergarten. Bem (1973) suggests that although occupational alternatives are theoretically available to girls, individual girls are unable to see them as alternatives for themselves because they have been conditioned not to choose certain options. Thus, a girl has no real freedom of choice because her motivation to choose is controlled by society.

To believe that a significant change in attitudes toward occupational choice can be wrought by waiting until an ethnic girl is an adolescent and the time of graduation draws near is to misunderstand the depth and breadth of the sex role path that girls are trained to walk. To expect a young woman to suddenly step off the path which she has been told from childhood leads to Cinderella's castle, where the Prince will take care of her forever, is unrealistic. Girls give up on serious career preparation and, at best, learn something that they can do until the Prince shows up or that they can "fall back on" in case, at some very vague point in time, a little extra money is needed at the castle (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1976).

The research of the early 70's showed conclusively that girls have put on their sex role blinders before they leave elementary school (Iglitzin, 1972; Looft, 1971). Studies from the later 70's tell us something that seems different, but, in reality, is not. In an attempt to find out whether a career-oriented curriculum in elementary school increases career awareness and reduces sex stereotyping (Parks, 1976), researchers discovered that both boys and girls identify increased career options for women after intervention. However, for themselves, girls and boys continued to choose the traditional roles regardless of their exposure to the new curriculum.

In a semirural, working-class community in southeastern Michigan, elementary school girls in the second, fourth, and sixth grades whose mothers worked outside the home as laborers saw male vocations as available and possible. In the higher grades, the possibilities were enunciated even more frequently. However, for themselves the girls again expected and aspired to the traditional role of wife at home (Bacon and Lerner, 1975).

In another study (Harris, 1974), girls came from their classroom to the counselor's office and met with the counselor as a group on a weekly basis for six 30-minute sessions, while control subjects remained in their classrooms. The research group made life charts with histories of what had happened to them in the past and what they projected for their future. They made interest charts to increase self-understanding and to compare themselves with their peers. These interests were tied in with possible careers, and the girls brainstormed ideas for careers that could tie in with these interests. They did some role playing, trying out their occupations while others guessed what those occupations might be. At the end of the 6-week session, the possible choices that the girls saw for themselves had almost tripled, but the choices were still all sex stereotypic; the group without this counseling did not grow in career awareness at all. The research concluded that because the activities did not directly address the question of sex stereotyping, the girls did not feel free to go beyond the stereotypic career options.

The above study strongly indicates that counselors cannot assume that career education activities in and of themselves will break through any stereotypes, or that a girl who says she recognizes expanded options as possible does in fact see them as possible for herself. The implications for classroom or counselor career education activities are obvious; active intervention and reinforcement and approval of nonstereotypic choices must be given in an ongoing manner. While "one-shot" activities serve some purpose, they will not accomplish what an "advertising campaign" will--permeate below the surface into the consciousness, making the message of possibility "real" to the young girl in school.

In an effort to be helpful and individualize their assistance, some counselors look at IQ scores and interest inventory results for guidance on how to proceed with nontraditional exploration. Counselors should be aware that IQ scores are tied to self-concept, motivation, achievement needs, test anxiety, and "the nature of the discussion at the family dinner table" (Hawley, 1975). Interest inventories can be biased on the basis of sex and cultivate a biased response (Diamond, 1975). These outcomes are linked to the pressures against high achievement or a self-concept that is other-oriented, pressures that ethnic and nonethnic girls experience. In addition, there is the training for the mother/homemaker role and the expectation that girls will behave in a generally "feminine" manner, which means orientation to a secondary role and not to self-achievement. If the nature of the discussion at the family dinner table reinforces these concepts, counselors had better start finding other ways to interpret potential and interest and other ways to increase motivation, self-concept, and achievement needs.

Many working-class ethnic daughters may have few opportunities to come into contact with a larger world offering a broader range of options. For white ethnic families of the working class and their daughters:

> Life at its best is economically comfortable, but for the great majority it is narrowly circumscribed by the family, the relatives, a few friends, the union, the boss, the church. Nothing is visible in the vast darkness beyond this limited circle but a few movie stars, athletes and some national office holders. (Komarovsky, 1970)

The need for schools to improve the resources brought to the working-class child is a theme reiterated in the literature. Efforts must be made to improve career counseling and to reach the parents for support.

> Much is said of the crisis of the colleges and ghetto schools, both apparently requiring growing investments of society's resources. Does anyone for a moment think that the quality of education in the working-class schools in this country—both public and parochial—is any better? That the slaughter of human potential and sensibility is any less severe? Or

that a crisis of identity equal in magnitude to that of the children of the affluent middle class or those of ghetto is not going on among the youth of the working class? (Simon and Gagnon, 1970)

Working With Girls

While waiting for the entire school system to improve, counselors and others can take individual responsibility for helping girls achieve a new sense of themselves and their potential. These activities can be undertaken by the counselor separately or in conjunction with the classroom teacher. Many of these activities can and should be tied to career education curriculums (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1978). The simplest kind of awareness activities can be a real eye opener to the youngster who has never thought through the consequences of accepting without examination the traditional assumptions about the roles of women and men (Kalunian et al., 1975).

By using both objective and subjective methods, the counselor can bring girls a new perception of the possibilities open to women (Zuersher, 1975). The subjective approach might be classified under the consciousness-raising techniques of the women's movement. It is a way to help women become aware of their commonly shared experiences of stereotyping and discrimination. Adaptations of this have been tried with schoolchildren. The message of the research is that with skill and commitment on the part of the adult, change in perception can be achieved (Guttentag and Bray, 1976; Harris, 1974; Thoni et al., 1972). The objective approach involves studying the evidence outside one's own experience: What are the real statistical expectations for work? What can happen to the woman who is financially dependent on someone else? What can be learned from a presentation of history, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, if not from a female viewpoint, at least with woman and not just man included in the discussion?

Schoolchildren are not too young to be exposed to the concepts that may affect them profoundly. For example, Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce, suggests that as the service sector of the economy continues to grow, part-time work is likely to increase dramatically. She also suggests that "flextime," which extends the period of time during which the usual full-time job can be completed, will become more popular (Kreps, 1978). These ideas may be particularly useful in facilitating the discussion of careers with girls who now are unaware of the realities of the adult woman's life and assume they will always only be mothers and homemakers.

Special workshops to help girls overcome sex role barriers have most often been held at the college level. Clearly, if girls are to develop their full potential, college is too late if only because many girls never get there and those who do usually limit their options to the traditional "female" careers. Workshops for girls should be part of every high school, junior high school, and elementary school counselor's repertoire of activities (Britton and Elmore, 1976; Verheyden-Hilliard, 1976).

An issue inextricably interwoven with career exploration is the importance of equal presentation of role models in picture, text, and discussion. For the white ethnic girl, these presentations should include models of outstanding women from various ethnic groups who have made significant contributions to American and other societies. This question of equal representation of male and female role models has serious implications for career choice. Plost showed a slide/tape presentation of two unfamiliar occupations to 600 eighth grade students, one pictured with a female and the other with a male; both boys and girls chose the occupation that had their same-sex model. Counselors must look at their career education and occupational and vocational materials with a careful eye. Those that do not show women in equal numbers and in an equal range of activities are not likely to be meaningful to girls.

Helping Her Parents Help Her

Helping girls also means helping their parents to understand the changing roles of women. As has been suggested elsewhere in this paper, there is probably more readiness to support increased options for girls than the stereotypes would lead us to believe (Lopata, 1976).

The research on ethnic families tells us that women may be changing faster than men. However, changes in behavior and expectations that men may not want to face in their wives, they may be prepared to encourage in their daughters. A program that was working to improve apprenticeship training programs for women (Mapp, 1974) provides some insight on one kind of effort that may be most successful in reaching the father of the white ethnic girl. In the apprenticeship program, films were shown to union members with the goal of changing their beliefs that only men were "breadwinners and the serious workers, who should therefore get the opportunities when there were not enough to go around." The project repeatedly found that discriminatory action did not stem from malice, but "from sincerely held beliefs based on ideals of what family and employment patterns ought to be rather than real facts." When hard facts on women heads of households and women in poverty were presented, there was a shift in attitudes.

Parents of white ethnic American girls need not only information on work patterns of American women, but research on sex roles and the limiting effect that traditional models can have on their daughters and their sons. If meaningful, long-range support is to be gained for the daughters, the parents need to know what is at stake. If a girl is expected to assume household tasks after school, her parents may see the extracurricular activities of athletics and clubs as frivolous. The counselor can help here with information on how these activities are crucial to developing independence and feelings of self-worth as well as providing opportunities for career exploration.

If parents assume that their daughter will marry and therefore need not explore educational and career paths, a counselor can help with information on the reality of the American woman's life and the even more important question of helping their daughters develop their full potential.

In a family where the mother is already working outside the home, the counselor can help by being aware of what the mother's work is, how the mother feels about it, and how the daughter feels about it. If the mother feels her work to be unrewarding both emotionally and economically, there is little reason to expect the daughter to aspire to work unless she can expect a different and/or better paid kind of work. Hoping to be "taken care of" while minding one's own family may seem the only way out to such a girl unless she is helped to develop real educational and career plans.

This brings the counselor once more to the crucial issue of whether she or he will allow a girl to continue to believe that marriage is a guaranteed lifelong security blanket and, more importantly, even if it is, is that all the personal achievement she aspires to?

Economic need is certainly a basic reason for working, but it is not the only reason. The importance of being all one can be and contributing all one can to the community, the Nation, and the world is not to be trivialized or ignored because one is a white ethnic girl.

PRESERVICE AND INSERVICE TRAINING FOR COUNSELORS

The need for counselor training on the special needs of girls and women at both the inservice and preservice levels has been stated repeatedly. The literature indicates that this need has been recognized but not met. For example, a survey of counselor training institutions conducted in 1976 (Verheyden-Hilliard) revealed that although 69 percent of the responding institutions believed that training counselors to be responsive to the special needs of women and girls was "critical" and "very important," only 22 percent of the counseling departments had any courses on this subject.

Ideally, every counselor education course should be reviewed for sex bias and stereotyping, not to mention discriminatory treatment of the subject of girls and women either by commission or omission. In addition, there should be courses that directly address the needs of girls and women. These courses should make counselors aware of the differing backgrounds that may impinge on each girl's perception of her choice of options, but, more importantly, courses should increase counselors' understanding of their responsibility to help every girl, regardless of her background, to explore her aspirations, potential, and path to achievement. Counselors must be helped to explore their own potential for a priori censorship of a girl because of what they perceive as her cultural background.

Inservice training should explore these same concerns. Even hour-and-a-half workshops on sex role stereotyping have been shown to change attitudes and behavior (Bowman and Nickerson, 1975). Materials for self-training also exist. In addition, many school systems are involved in Title IX training through the federally funded Title IV Sex Desegregation Assistance Centers and Sex Discrimination Training Institutes or through workshops sponsored by the Women's Educational Equity Act, or by local school systems or State educational agencies.

MOVING FORWARD

It is easy to say that the schools are only a part of a girl's life and that there is little they can do to counteract the forces that pressure her in other directions, but there is another way to view the situation. Although schools may not be able to control the stereotyped information that youngsters get from other sources, they can make a different kind of information available through school personnel and school resources. School people can be willing to say that they don't know all the answers but that they will help students find out. When they do that, they have identified themselves as a resource person the student can turn to--and that may be the best kind of support that any counselor or caring adult can offer a white ethnic girl, or any girl, in helping her to explore the possibility of achieving the dreams beyond tradition.

RECOMMENDATIONS

All programs, policies, and practices of all Government agencies should be reviewed in an ongoing manner for their effect on women in general and on the women and girls of individual groups and cultures for effect on assisting or inhibiting development of full potential.

Research should be conducted to discover the differences between the girl who actively prepares and carries out an educational/career development program and the girl who relies on stereotypic preparation for traditional roles. This research should be carried out cross-culturally and within cultures and groups, and the results should be widely disseminated through cultural organizations and popular magazines.

Research should be conducted to discover the best methods of encouraging parents to support, both emotionally and financially, the career preparation and development of their daughters. This research should be carried out cross-culturally and within cultures and groups.

Serious, quality training should be provided to vocational education teachers in the classrooms at the building level, particularly those who have been teaching male-intensive courses, to assist them in their efforts to welcome and support the incoming female student.

A research agenda should be developed to discover ways to make the presently male-intensive vocational education programs more acceptable and available to girls and women. The research should especially attack the concept that male-intensive vocational education areas are not "ladylike" or "appropriate" as courses of study for girls or careers for women.

Serious, quality training of counselor educators, vocational counselors, and counselors at the junior high school feeder schools should be developed and implemented to deal with recruitment of girls and women into nontraditional courses of study, with the changing roles of women in today's society, and with awareness of their own stereotypes of the white ethnic American girl and of sex stereotyping in general.

Studies of the contributions of women of white ethnic groups to American society and the world should be undertaken. Mini-biographies should be developed for wide dissemination to schoolgirls. These would serve as role models for both girls of a particular culture and girls of all groups.

Development and dissemination of exemplary materials based on all of the above research should be an NIE priority.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Life: Dream and Reality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1962.

Astin, J. S. "Young Women and Their Roles." *In* R. F. Havighurst (ed.), *Youth Part I*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Bacon, Carolyn, and Richard M. Lerner. "Effects of Maternal Employment Status on the Development of Vocational Role Perception in Females." *Journal of Genetic Psychology* *126*:187-193, 1975.

Bernard, Jesse. *Academic Women*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Meridian Books, 1966.

Biddle, Ellen Horgan. "The American Catholic Irish Family." *In* Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), *Ethnic Families in America*. New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1977.

Bingham, W. C., and E. W. House. "Counselors View Women and Work: Accuracy of Information." *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* *21*:262-268, 1973.

Bowman, Phyllis, and Eileen T. Nickerson. "Effectiveness of a Brief Intervention Strategy in Changing Attitudes Toward Women." Paper presented at the 7th Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Atlanta, Ga., 1975.

Briggs, Norma. *Women in Apprenticeship—Why Not?* Manpower Research Monograph No. 33. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1974.

Britton, Virginia, and Patricia Elmore. "Leadership and Self Development Lab for Women: A Research Report." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1976.

Campbell, P. B., and A. E. McKain. "Intellectual Decline and the Adolescent Woman." Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, Canada, 1974.

Commission for Women Report. Washington, D.C.: The American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1973.

Controversial Issues Kit, No. 2. New York: Women in the Working Class Ethnic Committee, American Jewish Committee, 1976.

Current Population Reports: Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1976. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, July 1978.

Diamond, Esther (ed.). *Issues of Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement*. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Career Education Program, 1975.

Dworkin, Susan. "Ellie Smeal Brings NOW Up-to-Date." MS, p. 64-67, February 1978.

Engelhard, Patricia Auer, et al. "Trends in Counselor Attitude About Women's Roles." Journal of Counseling Psychology 23:365-371, 1976.

Femminella, Francis X., and Jill S. Guadagno. "The Italian American Family." In Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), Ethnic Families in America. New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1977.

Ferree, Myra M. "Working Class Jobs: Housework and Paid Work as Sources of Satisfaction." Social Problems 23:431-441, 1976.

Friedan, Betty. The Feminine Mystique. 1964.

Frienze, I., J. Fisher, M. C. McHugh, and V. A. Valle. "Attributing the Causes of Success and Failure: Internal and External Barriers to Achievement in Women." Paper presented at the Conference on New Directions for Women, Madison, Wis., 1975.

Greeley, Andrew M. Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

Guttentag, Marcia, and Helen Bray. Undoing Sex Stereotypes: Research and Resources for Educators. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

Harmon, L. W. "The Childhood and Adolescent Career Plans of College Women." Journal of Vocational Behavior 1:45-46, 1971.

Harris, Sandra R. "Sex Typing in Girls' Career Choices: A Challenge to Counselors." Vocational Guidance Quarterly 12:128-133, 1974.

Hawley, Peggy. "The State of the Art of Counseling High School Girls." Final report, Fels Discussion Paper No. 89. Ford Foundation Faculty Fellowship for research on women's roles in society, June 1975.

Hoffman, L. W. "Early Childhood Experiences and Women's Achievement Motives." Journal of Social Issues 28:129-155, 1972.

Holmstrom, Lynda L. The Two Career Family. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972.

Horner, Matina S. "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women." Journal of Social Issues 28:157-175, 1972.

Iglitzin, L. B. "A Child's Eye View of Sex Roles." Paper presented at the meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Kalunian, Peter, Gretchen Lopatich, and Sandy Cymerman. "Changing Sex Role Stereotypes Through Career Development." Psychology in the Schools 12:230-233, April 1975.

Komarovsky, Mirra. "Blue-Collar Marriages and Families." *In* Louise Kapp Howe (ed.), *The White Majority: Between Poverty and Affluence.* New York: Random House, 1970.

Kourvelaris, George A. "The Greek American Family." *In* Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), *Ethnic Families in America.* New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1977.

Kreps, Juanita. "The Future for Working Women." *Ms*, p. 57, March 1977.

Looft, W. R. "Sex Differences in the Expression of Vocational Aspirations by Elementary School Children." *Developmental Psychology* *5*:366, February 1971.

Lopata, Helen Znaniecki. *Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.

Lopata, Helen Znaniecki. "The Polish American Family." *In* Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.), *Ethnic Families in America.* New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1977.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. "Women's Intellect." *In* Seymour M. Farber and Roger H. L. Wilson (eds.), *The Potential of Women.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Mapp, Patricia. "Women in Apprenticeship--Why Not?" Final report, Manpower Administration, Office of Research and Development. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, 1974.

Matthews, Esther E. "Personalizing Occupational Freedom for Girls and Women." Proceedings of the 27th Rutgers Guidance Conference, Rutgers - The State University, New Brunswick, N.J., October 1970.

Mindel, Charles H., and Robert W. Habenstein (eds.). *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations.* New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1977.

Montagu, Ashley. *Man's Most Dangerous Myth.* New York: Harper and Row, 1952.

Monthly Labor Review. "Women Who Head Families." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976.

National Center for Health Statistics. "Final Divorce Statistics, 1976." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

National Congress of Neighborhood Women Brochure. New York, 1978.

Parks, Beverly J. "Career Development--How Early?" *Elementary School Journal* *76*:468-474, 1976.

Patterson, Orlando. "The Ethnic Revival." *The New York Times,* February 20, 1978, p. A17.

Plost, M. "Career Media Centers Are Shortchanging Today's Girls." *American Personnel and Guidance Journal.*

Population Profile of the U.S. "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Report." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1974.

Rainwater, Lee. "Working-Class Family Lifestyles and Social Alienation." *In* Lee Rainwater (ed.), *Social Problems and Public Policy.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974.

Rosenthal, R. *Experimental Effects on Behavioral Research.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966.

Rosenthal, R. *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupil Intellectual Development.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Ruina, Edith (ed.). *Women in Science and Technology: A Report on an MIT Workshop.* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973.

Seifer, Nancy. *Absent from the Majority: Working Class Women in America.* New York: The American Jewish Committee National Project on Ethnic America, 1973.

Simon, William, and John Gagnon. "Working-Class Youth: Alienation Without an Image." *In* Louise Kapp Howe (ed.), *The White Majority: Between Poverty and Affluence.* New York: Random House, 1970.

Thoni, Richard J., Lorraine Hansen, Mary K. Klaurens, and W. Wesley Tennyson. *Women and the World of Work. A Career Education Resource Guide.* Minneapolis, Minn.: Minnesota Guidance Series, College of Education, University of Minnesota, 1972.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. "Cinderella Doesn't Live Here Anymore." *Manpower Magazine* (renamed *Womanpower* for this issue), November 1975.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. "Kindergarten: Training Ground for Women in Administration." *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors,* summer 1975.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. *Handbook for Workshops on Sex Equality in Education: Information, Activities, Resources for Educators, Students, the Community.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. "Counseling: Potential Superbomb Against Sexism." *In American Education.* Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, April 1977.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. *Cracking the Glass Slipper: PEERS Guide to Ending Sex Bias in Your School.* Washington, D.C.: Project on Equal Education Rights, 1977.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. "Assisting the School to Work Transition for Young Women: Who Needs the Counseling?" In Muriel Berkeley, Faye Baumgarner, and Lois Morrill (eds.), Young Women and Employment: What We Know and Need to Know About the School-to-Work Transition. Proceedings of the conference. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, Women's Bureau and the Office of Youth Programs, June 1978.

Verheyden-Hilliard, Mary Ellen. Reducing Sex Stereotyping in Career Education: Some Promising Approaches to Persistent Problems. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, Office of Career Education, June 1979.

Wall Street Journal. Article on changes in lifestyle caused by working women, September 22, 1978.

Warner, W. Lloyd. American Life: Dream and Reality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1962.

Zuersher, Dorothy J. "Wanted: A More Realistic Educational Preparation for Women." Educational Leadership, pp. 118-122, November 1975.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS

Ms. Maria A. Anastasi**
North End Community Health Center
332 Hanover Street
Boston, MA 02113

Ms. Gail Brickman**
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
536 S. Clark Street, Room 234
Chicago, IL 60605

Dr. Martha Chomiak*
Manhattanville College
Purchase, NY 10577

Dr. Bosanka Evosevic**
Letsche School
1530 Cliff Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15919

Dr. Giuliana Nardelli Haight**
3450 Clay Street
San Francisco, CA 94118

Dr. Colleen Johnson*
University of California
Dept. of Medical Anthropology
1320 Third Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94143

Ms. Mary Ann Krickus**
1402 Prince Edwards Street
Fredericksburg, VA 22401

Dr. Louise Lamphere*
Dept. of Anthropology
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87131

Ms. Sirkka Tuomi Lee**
Johns Hopkins University
School of Hygiene, Suite 4511
615 North Wolfe Street
Baltimore, MD 21202

Ms. Elaine Lowry**
1530 Lancaster Street
Baltimore, MD 21231

Ms. Olga Madar**
President Emeritus of
Coalition of Labor Union Women
1800 Iroquois Street
Detroit, MI 48214

Dr. Kathleen McCourt*
Dept. of Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago
6525 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, IL 60626

Ms. Vicki Mongiardo**
White House
Old Executive Office Building, Rm 127
Washington, DC

Dr. Georgia Noble*
Simmons College
Dept. of Education
300 The Fenway
Boston, MA 02115

Dr. Christine Noschese**
National Congress of
Neighborhood Women
11-29 Catherine Street
Brooklyn, NY 11211

Sister Jane Pank**
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

---

* Academics Group
** Practitioners Group

Dr. Jan Peterson**
National Congress of
Neighborhood Women
11-29 Catherine Street
Brooklyn, NY 11211

Ms. Marilyn J. Pracinos*
Office of Senator Sarbanes
Rm. 2327 Dirksen Senate Office
Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mrs. Rosanne Royer**
Office of the Mayor
1200 Municipal Building
600 Fourth Avenue
Seattle, WA 98104

Dr. Karen Sacks**
Center for the Study of the Family
and the State
Institute for Policy Sciences
Duke University
Durham, NC 27706

Dr. Laura Polla Scanlon**
New York City Community College
Writing and Speech Dept.
300 J Street, Room N512
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Ms. Nancy Seifer*
33 Riverside Drive
New York, NY

Dr. Rebecca Sive-Tomashefsky*
Midwest Women's Center
53 West Jackson, Room 623
Chicago, IL 60604

Mrs. Galina Suziedelis*
Center for the Study of
Pre-retirement and Aging
National Catholic School of Social
Service
Catholic University of America
206 Shahan Hall
Washington, DC 20064

Ms. Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard*
Verheyden & Associates
3747 Huntington Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20015

Dr. Barbara Wertheimer*
Cornell University
New York State School of
Industrial Relations
7 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

Ms. Elaine Wilson**
North End Community Health
Center
332 Hanover Street
Boston, MA 02113

Dr. Carol Woehrer*
Center for Long Term Care
2829 University Avenue, S.E.
Suite 336
Minneapolis, MN 55414

---

* Academics Group
** Practitioners Group

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF NIE-FUNDED PROJECTS

The projects listed in this appendix include institutional grants, contract awards, and small and large research grants in progress during 1980. The projects selected for this list are expected to be of special interest to the readers of the proceedings from the minority women's conferences and are culled from a much larger set of awards relevant to minority and women's issues. They should not be considered representative of all NIE-sponsored minority- and women-related projects. Obviously, although NIE will continue to fund projects that address similar issues and the problems of these target populations, the specific substantive areas and focus of inquiry will change from year to year.

Readers interested in more comprehensive and detailed information concerning NIE-sponsored research on minority and women's issues are invited to write for the following publications from: Publications Office, The National Institute of Education, 1200 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20208.

1. Minorities and Women's Program
2. A compendium of bilingual education and related projects
3. Sex equity in education: NIE-sponsored projects and publications.

The projects in the following list are arranged according to the program groups monitoring them: Teaching and Learning (T&L), Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP), and Educational Policy and Organization (EPO).

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
National Center for Bilingual Research	Candido Antonio de Leon 4665 Lampson Avenue Los Alamitos	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Research in language acquisition, language functioning, bilingual education; publications.
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education	Joel Gomez 1500 Wilson Blvd. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Reading & Language Studies, T&L; Office of Bilingual Education	Computerized database; information services; technical assistance; toll-free hotline (800)336-4560; 40 language groups
Bilingual effects of community and schools	Steven Arvizu Cross-Cultural Resource Center, California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Mexican-American, Puerto Rican & Chicano Students; home and school relationships

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Sau-lim Tsang ARC Associates, Inc. 310 8th Street, Suite 220 Oakland, CA 94607	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Chinese students language attitudes; language assessment
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Dillon Platero Navajo Center for Educ. Research 1200 West Apache Road Farmington, NM 87401	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Navajo students
Sources of individual differences in second language acquisition	Lily Wong Fillmore University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Cantonese &-Spanish-speaking kindergarten students, learning style, social style
Sociolinguistics of literacy: an historical & comparative study	Bernard Spolsky Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Model of literacy; Cherokee, Jewish, Navajo, New Mexican, Aymara & Polynesian languages
Oral narratives of bilingual Mexican-American adult basic education	Nancy Ainsworth Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Ethnography of speaking; classroom activity
Oral language acquisition among Cherokee	Barbara Powell P.O. Box 769 Tahlequah, OK 74464	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Rural children; mother/child interaction
Relating reading skills of minority bilingual personnel to reading demands of work	Concepcion M. Valadez Univ. of California Los Angeles, CA	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Minority & bilingual persons, industry training job placement
Social organization of participation in four Alaskan cross-cultural classrooms	Wendy Rosen Center for Cross-Cultural Studies Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99701	Teaching & Instruction T&L	Native and nonnative teachers; Koyukon Athabaskan Village
Interaction effects of school & home environments on students of varying race, ethnicity, class, & gender	William J. Genova 385 Elliot St. Newton, MA 02164	Teaching & Instruction, T&L	American Chinese, Portuguese, Carribean Black, Armenian, Irish & Jewish students
Social influences on the participation of Mexican-American women in science	Patricia MacCorquodale Southwest Institute for Research on Women, Univ. of Arizona Tucson, AZ 85721	Learning & Development, T&L	Factors facilitating & preventing female participation in Science
Cultural integration of Asian-American professional women	Esther Chow American University Massachusetts & Nebraska Ave. Washington, DC 20016	Learning & Development, T&L	Career development; questionnaire
Development of a guide for research on Asian-Pacific women: Korea & Japan	Hesung Chun Koh Human Relations Areas Files, 2054 Yale	Learning & Development, T&L	Analytic & quality control information; reference guide
Language & cultural determinants to mastery of mathematics concepts by undergraduate Native American students	Charles G. Moore Northern Arizona University Flagstaff, AZ 86011	Learning & Development, T&L	Interviews in university & communities, Hopi; Navajo, Apaches; Hualapais

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
A Neo-Piagetian approach to test bias	Edward A. DeAvila P.O. Box 770 Larkspur, CA 94939	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Cultural differences test validity, test bias, Anglo, Black, & Mexican-American students
An ethnographic analysis of testing & the Navajo student	David Bachelor Southwest Research Associates P.O. Box 4092 Albuquerque, NM 87196	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Classroom observation of testing process
Effects of testwiseness on the reading achievement scores of minority populations	Stephen Powers Tucson Unified School District, Research & Evaluation Dept. 1010 E. 10th St. Tucson, AZ 85719	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation,	Black, Mexican-American, Native American, Anglo, elementary & junior high
Patterns of internal and external support structures, world views, & strategies used by urban Indian children who are successful in school	Marigold Linton Minneapolis Public Schools, Indian Education Section 807 N.E. Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413	Home, Community & Work, T&L	Urban schools; parental interviews
Puerto Rican children's informal learning events at home	Evelyn Jacob Center for Applied Linguistics 3520 Prospect St. N.W. Washington, DC 20007	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Observational data; learning events at home
Home-school community linkages: a study of educational equity for Punjabi youth	Margaret A. Gibson California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Interviews, comparative case study
Summer institute on advanced study on educational research for Asian Americans	Sau-Lim Tsang Berkeley Unified School District 2168 Shattuck Ave. 3rd Floor Berkeley, CA 94704	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Courses in research methodology; sociolinguistics
Navajo philosophy of education: its traditional sources and contemporary and national contexts	Dillon Platero Dine Biolta Assn. Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87103	Minorities & Women, DIP	Advanced research
Asian & Pacific American educational research seminars	Kenyon S. Chan National Asn. of Asian & Pacific American Education, P.O. Box 3487 Seattle, WA 98114	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Professional training; immigrant students; research publications
Increasing participation by minorities & women in advanced study & research in education	Eduardo Marenco, Jr. National Director for Policy Research, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund 28 Geary Street San Francisco, CA 94108	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Civil rights policy research, career development
Capacity building in minority institutions an alternative model for access to non-traditional research opportunities	Maria Cerda Latino Institute 55 E. Jackson, Suite 2150 Chicago, IL 60604	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Latino researchers; publications; research support services

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Office for Advanced Research in Hispanic Education	Leonard A. Valverde Univ. of Texas Educational Bldg. #310 Austin, TX 78712	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Policy research; research on immigrant students, bilingual education, overcoming financial inequity
California State Department of Education Program: Increasing participation of minorities & women professionals in educational research	Heidi Dulay Bloomsbury West, Inc. 1111 Market St., 4th Fl. San Francisco, CA 94111	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Study program; mentor relationship
Evaluation training opportunities in Minnesota Indian bicultural project	Will Antell Minnesota Dept. of Educ. Capitol Square Bldg., 550 Cedar St. St. Paul, MN 55101	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Workshop; skill development
National Commission on Working Women	Joan Goodin Nat'l. Manpower Inst. 1211 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, DC 20036	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Working women
School Finance: The problem of equity for poor and minority children	Robert Brischetto Trinity University San Antonio, TX 78284	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Minority group; State legislation
Women Facing Mid-Career Changes	Adeline Naiman Educational Development Center, Inc. 55 Chapel St. Newton, MA 02160	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Career education; Women's Education; Film
The implementation of equal educational opportunity by the Office for Civil Rights in the City of New York	Michael Rebell Rebell & Krieger 230 Park Ave. New York City, NY 10017	Program on Law and Public Management	Civil Rights; administrative reform
Education & the development of an urban female labor	Carl Kaestle Univ. of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	Program on Law and Public Management	School industry relationship; sex discrimination
Indian education reform	Myron Jones Indian Education Training, Inc. 1110 Pennsylvania N.E. Albuquerque, NM 87110	Program on Law and Public Management	
Citizen organization: a study of citizen participation in educational decision-making	Don Davies Institute for Responsive Education 704 Commonwealth Ave. Boston, MA 02215	Educational Organizations & Local Communities, EPO	School community relationship, minority groups, urban schools
Women & minorities in the principalship	M. Bagley JWK International Corp. 7617 Little River Annandale, VA 22003	Educational Organizations, and Local Communities, EPO	Minority women, selection and training procedures
Women on law faculties	Susan Weisberg American Bar Foundation 1155 East 60th St. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organization and Local Communities, EPO	Women professors, sex discrimination national survey
Urban school organizations and the American working class: an historical analysis	Ira Katznelson Univ. of Chicago 5828 S. Univ. Ave. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organizations and Local Communities, EPO	Working class men and women, their institutions, churches, labor unions, and political parties

*U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1980 0-620-977/2773